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AN
ACCOUNT
OF
TRAVELS
INTO THE
INTERIOR OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

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IN WHICH IS CONSIDERED,
THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE TO THE DIFFERENT EUROPEAN
POWERS, AS A NAVAL AND MILITARY STATION; AS A POINT OF SECURITY
TO OUR INDIAN TRADE AND SETTLEMENTS DURING A WAR, AND
AS A TERRITORIAL ACQUISITION AND COMMERCIAL
EMPORIUM IN TIME OF PEACE:

WITH
A STATISTICAL SKETCH OF THE WHOLE COLONY;
COMPILED FROM AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

By JOHN BARROW, Esq.

LATE SECRETARY TO THE EARL OF MACARTNEY, AUDITOR-GENERAL OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS
AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, AND SECRETARY TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL
FRANCIS DUNDAS DURING HIS GOVERNMENT THERE.

VOLUME THE SECOND,
ILLUSTRATED WITH SEVERAL ENGRAVINGS.

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ACCOUNT
TO
THE LORD VISCOUNT MELVILLE
ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL

OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
WAS ACQUIRED AND ANNEXED TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE
BY WHICH OUR POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS IN THE EAST-INDIES
WERE EXTENDED AND PROMOTED



TRAVELS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, &c.
BY JOHN BARROW, ESQ.
OF THE ROYAL NAVY, AND CAPTAIN OF THE "TERRIBLE"
AND CAPTAIN OF THE "TERRIBLE"

VOLUME THE SECOND JOHN BARROW

TO
THE LORD VISCOUNT MELVILLE,
ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL,
Esq. Esq. Esq.

UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES, THE EXTENSIVE AND IMPORTANT COLONY
OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
WAS ACQUIRED AND ANNEXED TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE,
BY WHICH OUR POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS IN THE EAST-INDIES
WERE EFFECTUALLY SECURED AND PROMOTED;

THIS SECOND VOLUME OF
TRAVELS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, &c.

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS MOST FAITHFUL

AND OBLIGED HUMBLE SERVANT,

JOHN BARROW.

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ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL

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ERRATA.

- VOL. I. Page 9. line 21. *for* Tush *read* Fish
 10. — 27. *for* Zewarte *r.* Zwarte
 16. — 27. *for* inclusive *r.* exclusive
 31. — 12. *for* Bray *r.* Cray
 38. — 17. *for* Cenæd *r.* Penæa
 64. — 20. *for* into *r.* on
 88. — 11. *for* Zoaarteberg *r.* Zwarteberg
 89. — 18. *for* red *r.* reed
 93. — 8. *for* four *r.* fore
 131. — 24. *for* pending *r.* trending
 137. — 9. *for* belts *r.* tufts
 202. — 15. *for* tradesman *r.* herdsman
 232. — 3. *for* pectorius *r.* putorius
 314. — 21. *for* illy *r.* ill
 321. — 7. *for* Tush *r.* Fish
 339. — 3. fifth column, *for* Milanopoleos *r.* Melanophleos
 346. & seq. *for* Muscle Bay *r.* Mossel
 360. — 27. *for* Philippo *r.* Philippeaux

- VOL. II. Page 11. line 3. *for* affassinatio *read* affassination
 40. — 4. *for* Rhode *r.* Roode
 41. — 20. *for* it *r.* in
 165. — 12. *for* on *r.* in
 207. — 11. *for* 1500 *r.* 3000
 211. — 7. *for* 2700 *r.* 3400
 362. — 6. *for* white *r.* whole
 368. — 3. *for* Kange *r.* Lange
 370. — 3. *for* them *r.* it

In the Press,

TRAVELS IN CHINA,

CONTAINING

DESCRIPTIONS, OBSERVATIONS, and COMPARISONS, made and collected in the
 Course of a short Residence at the *Imperial Palace of Yuen-min-yuen*, and
 on a subsequent Journey through the Country from

PEKIN to CANTON.

In which it is attempted to appreciate the Rank that this extraordinary Empire
 may be considered to hold in the Scale of civilized Nations.

“ *Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.* ”
 It is the lot of few to go to *Pekin*.

By JOHN BARROW, Esq.

Late Private Secretary to the Earl of Macartney, and one of his Suite as Ambassador from the
 King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China.

TRA-

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THE very flattering reception which a former volume of sketches experienced from an indulgent public, was sufficient encouragement for the Author to resume his pen, though it might not be considered as an adequate motive, without new pretensions, to obtrude himself a second time on public notice. The pretensions then, which I now claim, consist chiefly in being allowed to finish an incomplete work: to add a volume, in continuation of the former, which I am encouraged to hope will be considered no less interesting, from the importance of the matter, than the other was from its novelty. The natural history of a country little known; the general description of its surface and appearance; the manners, customs, and state of society, of the several classes of inhabitants, furnish a vast fund of useful and agreeable information; but they do not constitute a whole.—A number of other subjects must be discussed and described before our knowledge of that country can be said to be complete. Among these are not the least important the local advantages it may command in a political, military, and commercial point of view, either with respect to itself, or in its relations with other countries; its resources, and their application; its revenues, jurisprudence, population, and a variety of other points which, when attentively taken, form a topographical

phical and statistical account, from whence both the statesman and the philosopher may be instructed and amused.

This latter part is a task which, in all human probability, I should never have undertaken, had I not found, on my return to England, that a great variety of opinions were fluctuating with regard to the importance of the Cape of Good Hope to the interests of the British Empire, but more immediately so to those of the East-India Company, which composes so very distinguished a part of it. Most of these opinions were, obviously, grounded on a very limited view of the subject; or on an imperfect knowledge of the country. For, without arrogating to myself any superior information beyond what local knowledge, acquired by frequent travel, and my public situation, enabled me to collect, I may be allowed to observe, that few seem to understand in what respects the Cape is, or is not, an important object to the different powers of Europe. In the former volume all political discussions were studiously avoided, not only because they might at that time, for many reasons, have been thought unseasonable or indiscreet, but because I then conceived there was but one opinion with regard to the real value of the Cape of Good Hope, if considered only in the single view of its being a barrier and a point of security to our Indian settlements.

Since, however, it has unfortunately been found expedient to relinquish the possession of it, in consideration of something that, no doubt, appeared to be of equal moment, such caution will now be no longer necessary; and I shall therefore, in the
B 2 present

present volume, enter very fully into the question of the political, military, and commercial advantages, which this grand outwork of all the European possessions in India commands, and of the dangers to which those of the British empire in that quarter of the world, as well as the trade of the East-India Company, are now exposed, by having resigned this point of security into the hands of an enemy. I feel it, indeed, incumbent on me to prove a position I then took for granted, *that the Cape of Good Hope was an acquisition by which our political and commercial interests in the East Indies had been secured and promoted.*

Having hitherto dwelt more fully on the character and disposition of the several tribes of aboriginal inhabitants, bordering upon the colony, than of the Dutch and German settlers, I thought it expedient to commence the present volume with a military expedition to the Kaffer frontier, in order to afford myself an opportunity of making such remarks and observations, as had either escaped me in composing the first, or had purposely been omitted. The character and disposition of the inhabitants of a country, likely to become the seat of war, are points of no small importance to be known previous to its conquest. The late King of Prussia, that wise and vigorous monarch who, if now living, would not have been tardy in assisting to repel republican tyranny or consular despotism, recommends, in his celebrated instructions to his general officers, a particular attention to the study of the disposition, the temper, and the turn of mind, of the people inhabiting those countries which were destined to be the object of a military expedition.

In

In this chapter I have also blended some remarks on particular points and passes, with plans and descriptions of the three principal bays on the south-east coast of the colony, from actual surveys ordered to be made by Rear-Admiral Pringle, at the request of Lord Macartney. The regularity of a journal I have not thought it necessary to observe; nor to consider the insertion of dates important, the chief use of which is, to mark the distances travelled over in a given time, the state of the weather, or temperature of the air, at given seasons, and the growth and maturity of the vegetable productions of the earth, as they appear in succession. To these points I have already attended in my former publication, as well as to the general geography of the country. Of the present work, particular topography will form a material part; the knowledge of the one being no less useful than that of the other.

It might appear invidious to point out particular instances of fatal mistakes which have happened from want of local information; but they are numerous in the records of our history. It may not, however, be unimportant to observe, that, in acquiring this kind of knowledge, and in making connections with foreign nations, our most inveterate and rancorous enemy has always been more successful, because more assiduous, than ourselves. I might instance this observation in the labours of *D'Anquetil du Perron*, whose book was withheld from publication for several years, on account of the important information it was supposed to contain respecting the politics of India:—in the Travels of *Messrs. Olivier and Bruguière* into the Turkish and Persian empires, who were sent by the Executive Council in

1792, with particular instructions to inquire into the political system, the opinions, topography, commerce, and productions of these countries;—in *Volney's Travels into Egypt*;—in *Sonini's Investigations* in the same country;—in *Sebastiani's Mission and Report*, the objects of which are too glaring to be mistaken;—and in those persons who, under the name of *Commercial Agents*, had accepted the odious employment of spies.

Few Englishmen, indeed, it is to be hoped, would undertake a commission, which might be considered as degrading to execute, but for which a Frenchman holds his government alone responsible, and its sanction a sufficient excuse. If, by any act in a foreign country, he can gain the favour and countenance of his government at home, he will seldom stick at the means. Hence we find, in every part of the world, Frenchmen labouring for the interests of their nation, in the various characters of ambassadors to the court, missionaries for propagating the Christian religion, commissaries of commerce, emissaries of a subordinate rank, and voluntary adventurers. A Frenchman, travelling in foreign countries, generally combines national with individual views. Since the late revolution they have been dispersed, like the Jews, over the whole world; but their dispersion is yet too recent to have obliterated the *amor patriæ* which, next to that of the ties of blood, clings, perhaps, closest to the heart. To their usual propensity for intrigue at foreign courts, and their national enmity against England, the emigrants have now the additional spur of doing something that may recommend them to the notice of their country. The Travels of *Le Duc de Rochefaucault Liancourt* through the American states, furnish

furnish a striking instance of this observation. The sentiments of this nobleman, openly avowed when it no longer served his purpose to conceal them, may be considered as those of a very great number of the French emigrants; and it is less a subject of wonder that such should be their sentiments, than that men should be credulous enough to think them otherwise. In the publication of Liancourt, we perceive the national antipathy burst forth in almost every page, amidst an apparent inclination, on the part of the individual, to be grateful for acknowledged benefits and multiplied civilities. But it is evident that his feelings of abhorrence for the crimes of the French revolution are not more strong than those of envy and hatred at the successes and prosperity of the British nation. One passage, in the noble author, is so remarkable, that I am tempted to extract it.

“ Je suis embarrassé de me rendre compte à moi-même des
“ differens sentiments qui m’opprimaient et m’empêchaient de
“ me livrer entièrement à la reconnaissance et à la douceur qui
“ en résulte. J’aime les Anglais plus peut-être qu’aucun Fran-
“ çais ne les aime; j’en ai toujours été très-bien traité; j’ai
“ des amis parmi eux; je reconnais à ce peuple beaucoup de
“ grandes qualités et de talens. Je hais les crimes infâmes
“ dont la révolution Française a été souillé, que m’ont d’ailleurs
“ enlevé des objets chers à mon affection et à mon estime;
“ je suis banni de France, mes biens sont confisqués; je suis
“ traité par le gouvernement de mon pays comme si j’étais un
“ criminel ou un mauvais citoyen; séparé de tout ce qui
“ m’est cher, Robespierre et les autres brigands par qui ma
“ nation

“ nation s’est laissée tyranniser, m’ont rendu excessivement
“ malheureux, et mes malheurs sont loin de finir : hé bien !
“ ce sentiment de la patrie, ce sentiment adjourd’hui si pénible,
“ si contradictoire avec ma position, domine tous les autres et
“ vient me poursuivre ici plus que jamais. Le Pavillon Anglais
“ sous lequel je navigue, sur des lacs où a si long-tems flotté
“ le Pavillon Français ; ces forts, ces canons enlevés à notre
“ puissance, ce temoignage perpétuellement sous mes yeux de
“ notre ancienne faiblesse, et de nos adversités, me gênent,
“ m’accablent, et me donnent un excès d’embarras, de honte, que
“ je ne puis trop bien démeler, et moins encore définir.—Les
“ succès que le Lord Howe a eus l’année dernière, dont les
“ Anglais parlent d’autant plus librement devant nous, qu’ils
“ croient notre cause attachée à la leur ; cette avidité d’annoncer
“ de nouvelles défaites des Français, d’y croire, et d’oser nous
“ en complimenter, en nous assurant que nous rentrerons dans
“ nos propriétés par les efforts Britanniques ; tous ces sujets
“ habituels d’une conversation dans laquelle l’intention de mes
“ hôtes semble toujours bonne, ont quelque chose d’autant plus
“ pénible, qu’il faut cacher sa pensée dans le silence ; qu’en la
“ disant, on passerait pour un sot aux yeux du très-petit nom-
“ bre par qui on ne serait pas jugé un Jacobin, un Robespierre,
“ et qu’on en est pour ainsi dire embarrassé avec soi-même. Et
“ cependant, il est en moi, il est profondément en moi de
“ préférer de garder toute ma vie mon état de banni, de pauvre
“ diable, à me voir rappeler dans mon pays et dans mes biens
“ par l’influence des puissances étrangères et par l’orgueil
“ Anglais. Je n’entends pas parler d’une défaite des troupes
“ Françaises sans une grande peine, de leur succès sans un senti-
“ ment

" ment d'amour-propre satisfait que je ne cherche pas toujours
 " assez à cacher."—" I am at a loss to account for the contend-
 " ing sentiments which have grievously oppressed me, and pre-
 " vented me from yielding myself entirely to the feelings of
 " gratitude, and to that pleasing state of mind which ever at-
 " tends them. I love the English more, perhaps, than any
 " Frenchman does; I have always been extremely well treated
 " by them; I have friends among them; I acknowledge they
 " possess many great qualities as well as talents. I abhor the
 " infamous crimes which have stained the French revolution,
 " which have torn from me the dearest objects of my affections
 " and esteem; I am banished from France; my property is
 " confiscated; I am treated by my own government as if I
 " were a criminal or a bad citizen; separated from every thing
 " I hold dear, Roberespierre and the other brigands, to whose
 " tyranny my country has submitted, have rendered me ex-
 " tremely miserable, and my misery is far from being at an
 " end: but yet, this feeling for one's country, a feeling at
 " present so painful, so much at variance with my condition,
 " still triumphs over all others, and pursues me here more
 " powerfully than ever. This English flag under which I sail,
 " upon lakes where the French flag has so long been flying;
 " these forts, these cannon taken from us, this proof, perpe-
 " tually under my eyes, of our former weakness and ill success,
 " disturb, overwhelm, and fill me with a confusion and shame,
 " which I can neither well distinguish nor define. The successes
 " of Lord Howe last year, of which the English talk with
 " the greater freedom before us, as they consider our cause at-
 " tached to theirs; that avidity to announce fresh defeats of

“ the French, to give credit to them, and to dare to congratu-
“ late us on such occasions, by assuring us that we shall be
“ restored to our possessions through British exertions—all
“ these subjects, the constant theme of conversation, in which
“ the intention of my hosts always appear to be good, are still
“ more painful to me, as prudence requires me to conceal my
“ thoughts, for, in avowing them, one would certainly be
“ considered as a fool in the eyes of the very few who might
“ not think one a Jacobin, a Robespierre; and thus is a man
“ perplexed with himself. And yet, it is within me, most
“ deeply rooted within me, to prefer, through my whole life,
“ this state of banishment, of a forlorn outcast, rather than owe
“ my restoration to my country and my property to the in-
“ fluence of foreign powers, and to English pride. I never
“ hear of a defeat of the French without great distress, nor of
“ their success without an emotion of self-love, which I am
“ not always sufficiently careful to conceal.”

The sentiments contained in this passage are such as numbers of the emigrants, by their conduct, have shewn to be congenial with their own; and such as ought to convince us how little gratitude they really feel for the protection and support they have received from English generosity; and that neither the miseries nor the injustice they have suffered from their own country can ever make them forget for a moment their national enmity. To expect that they should for ever abandon their country would be a sentiment equally illiberal on the other side. It would have been well, indeed, for themselves, and better for England, that the whole body of the emigrants had returned to France. As to those
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those few malignant and unchristian priests who have dared, in their prayers, to invoke the vengeance of Heaven on the hand that saved them from assassination, and lifted bread to their mouths when, otherwise, they must have been famished, these miscreants have so far degraded themselves below the common level of humanity, that it is not easy to determine whether they are more deserving of pity or contempt.

In all their pursuits abroad the French are indefatigable. In India they have translated the enlightened doctrines of the Rights of Man into the language of some of the country powers; they converted the late Tippoo Sultaun into a citizen of the world; and established a Jacobin club in the very centre of Seringapatam. In Hydrabad they had proceeded to greater lengths. We find them in the Birman Empire, labouring to undermine the British character, and to insinuate themselves into the favour of the court by their services. In Cochin-China they have been still more industrious. They have translated the *Encyclopedie des connaissances humaines* into the language of the country; they have instructed the people to build ships of war, and they have trained their soldiers to the use of artillery. So great a favourite was the late titular bishop of Adran with the king of Cochin-China that, on his death, after his brother missionaries had interred his remains according to the rites of the Romish church, he ordered the body to be taken up and again buried with all the ceremonies and funeral pomp of the Cochin-Chinese religion, as the greatest honour he could bestow on his memory: nor could all the expostulations, or the entreaties, of the missionaries, who were scandalized at

such unhallowed proceedings, prevail upon the king to forego this testimony of his great veneration. It is even said, and believed, that they have urged the monarch of this country to throw off his vassalage to the emperor of China, which, if it be true, cannot fail of producing a war that may either prove fatal to our trade at Canton, or be turned greatly to our advantage; for, if the Chinese should discover Europeans acting against them, little solicitous as they really are with regard to foreign trade, they might be induced to shut their ports against us; or, abhorring, as they do, French principles, and afraid lest they should get possession of some country, at no great distance from their empire, they might, perhaps, by proper management, be inclined to court the alliance and protection of England.

It has been mentioned, indeed, but with what degree of truth I do not pretend to say, that the Viceroy of Canton has lately hinted it would by no means be disagreeable to the Chinese government to see the English in possession of Macao, instead of the Portuguese, whom they do not consider as able to defend this small neck of a large island against any attack the French might be disposed to make upon it. If the fact be so, and the Court of Directors cannot but have long known it, it is presumed that they have lost not a moment in negotiating with Portugal for this possession, which is only a small peninsular promontory of no use nor benefit whatever to that kingdom, but of infinite importance to ours. The French know the value of our trade to China as well as we do, and will let slip no opportunity of embroiling us with the Chinese, either by direct or indirect means. A Monsieur Perron, more
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than twelve months ago, in the capacity of commissary of commerce, has hoisted the French flag at Canton. Even here, before the revolution, the French had greatly the advantage over us by retaining in their employ an agent, a son of the learned Monsieur de Guignes, who understood the Chinese language, whilst, on every occasion, the English were obliged to have recourse to the Hong merchants to act as interpreters, the very men who were most interested in counteracting their views. Happily, however, at this critical moment, the English East India Company possess the means of communicating directly, and in the language of the country, with the Chinese government, through a gentleman in their employ, whose extraordinary talents and engaging manners, added to his station in society, cannot fail to be productive of incalculable service to their important concerns with this nation. In a word, there is scarcely a part of the globe where Frenchmen may not be found, employing their talents, and their time, in gaining such information, or making such connections, as may be useful or agreeable to their government at home.

It cannot be denied that, from the labours of such persons, much information of foreign countries has been communicated to the world. In this respect, the French have contributed as much as, and perhaps more than, any other nation. But the Dutch and Portuguese, partly from the effect of a narrow policy, and partly, perhaps, from the weakness of intellectual powers, owing to a defective education, have rather impeded, than promoted, any information relative to their colonies. The Cape of Good Hope, however, forms an exception from
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this remark; for although the Dutch themselves have not furnished much intelligence respecting the southern promontory of Africa, foreigners were seldom refused permission to visit the interior parts of the settlement. French, Swedes, and English have published accounts, and some of them voluminous, of this colony; yet, at the capture, singular as it may appear, we were entirely ignorant of all the points that were most material to be known. There was not a survey of one of the bays that could be depended on, except one of Table Bay, made by order of governor Van de Graaf; not a single map that took in one tenth part of the colony. Neither the direction nor the distance of Graaf Reynet were known to any of the inhabitants. It was called a month's journey, or so many hundred hours, with an ox waggon; but whether it was five hundred or a thousand miles was uncertain. That enlightened officer Sir James Craig roughly calculated it at eight hundred miles; which is three hundred miles more than it actually is. He observed that he once had received a dispatch from thence in sixteen days, but that the journey had been done in thirteen. Before we left the Cape, the English officers and English dragoons, performed the journey in seven days, and sometimes in six; seldom using more than two horses upon the road. It was pretended that the three country districts could raise a militia of cavalry to the amount of from fifteen to twenty thousand men; whereas the fact is, there are little more than twenty thousand white inhabitants, men, women, and children, in the whole settlement. The country was supposed to be so productive of grain, that a Cargo of wheat was sent to England out of the quantity found in store at the capture; the following year there was

was a famine; and a very serious scarcity has twice happened during the short period of our possession.

The earliest authors, who have written on the subject of the Cape, are *Tachard*, *Merklin*, and *Valentyn*, none of whom were a day's journey from the town, and, consequently, must have drawn up their relations from what they could collect from the inhabitants; which experience has found to be neither important nor correct. The same remark will nearly apply to the work of *Kolbe*, who, although professedly sent out in the character of a naturalist, has described subjects that he never saw; retailed idle stories of the peasantry that betray his great credulity and imbecility of mind; and filled his book with relations that are calculated to mislead rather than inform. The *Abbé de la Caille* had no opportunity of collecting general information, being principally employed in the arduous undertaking of measuring a base line, of thirty-eight thousand eight hundred and two feet, in order to determine the length of a degree on the meridian; and in ascertaining the situations of the principal fixed stars in the southern hemisphere. His account of the Cape is, therefore, very imperfect. *Sparrmann*, the Swede, followed next, and, by his indefatigable labours, supplied a very extensive and satisfactory account of the natural productions, especially in the animal kingdom, of those parts of the settlement over which he travelled; but he was credulous enough to repeat many of the absurd stories told of the Hottentots by his predecessor *Kolbe*, with the addition of others collected from the ignorant boors. His map is also so miserably defective, and so incorrect in every part, that he must certainly have

have constructed it in his closet from recollection, otherwise errors of two and even three hundred miles in latitude, as we shall presently see, could not have happened. *Thunberg*, another Swede, travelled a great deal within the limits of the colony, and made many valuable additions to the discoveries of *Sparrmann* in the natural history of the country; yet, although he describes objects as they presented themselves before him, and touches on a variety of subjects, his book, being made up of a collection of incomplete and unconnected paragraphs, whose juxta-position are sometimes whimsical enough, conveys neither accurate topography nor even a general idea of the colony.

The work of our countryman *Mr.* (now lieutenant-colonel) *Patterson*, is a mere journal of occurrences, with descriptions of a few subjects in natural history, some of which, at that time, were new; but the information it contains, with regard to the extent and population of the colony, the character of the settlers and of the natives, is very flight; and he has republished the very defective map of *Sparrmann*.

There are, also, two modern publications of travels made by Dutchmen. The one is by *Hoppe*, who attended an expedition that was sent from the Cape to the northward, in search of a nation that were reported to wear linen cloathing. This expedition made very little progress on account of the want of water, and the failure of their cattle. The nation, in all probability, was the Portuguese colony on the southern part of Angola; or, perhaps, some seamen belonging to a whaler that had

had touched at *Angra Pequena*, a small bay in latitude $26^{\circ} 36'$ south, might have been seen by the Damaras, or the Great Namaquas. The other publication is a Journal of *Van Reenen*, who, with some of the Dutch peasantry, proceeded through the Kaffer country, in search of the passengers and crew of the *Grosvenor* that was wrecked on the coast a little to the southward of De la Goa Bay. This journal was published by *Captain Riou* in England, with the addition of a map, constructed from the materials contained in the journal, and the information of a Dutch navigator. It is therefore hardly necessary to observe that, from such *data*, it could not be otherwise than defective in most of the essential points that constitute the value of a sea-chart. It is incorrect in the latitudes and longitudes, in the indentations of the coast, and in the size and shape of the bays. A partial map of the colony by *De la Rochette* has also been lately published, which is so far incorrect, even in the vicinity of the Cape, that the *four-and-twenty rivers* are made to flow in an opposite direction to that which is actually the case.

In speaking of charts, it may not, perhaps, be considered unimportant to observe in this place, that the whole of the coast of South Africa, between Algoa or Zwartkop's Bay, and that of *De la Goa*, stretches, in reality, much farther to the eastward, (making the continent in this part much wider,) than it is laid down in any of the sea-charts that have hitherto been published; by several degrees more easterly than some of them make it. To this circumstance may, probably, have been owing the loss of the *Grosvenor* Indiaman, and many other ships that have

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been wrecked on the Kaffer coast; and by it may be explained the reason why ships, coming from the north-eastward, almost invariably fall in with the land, to the northward of Algoa Bay, a full degree or more before they make it by their observations or reckoning. Immediately beyond Algoa Bay the coast, in the charts, is usually made to trend to the north-east, and even to the northward of this point, whereas, in reality, it runs only east-north-east to the mouth of the Great Fish River, or Rio d'Infanté, whose latitude at this place, by repeated observations, I found to be $33^{\circ} 25'$ south; and from hence to the mouth of the Keiskamma in the Kaffer country, the direction continues pretty nearly the same; after which, and not before, the coast begins to trend more to the northward. At the mouth of this river I had also an observation for the latitude, which I found to be $33^{\circ} 12'$ south. The latitude of the true Cape point is $34^{\circ} 22'$ south; so that, in the distance of about six hundred and fifty miles, the coast inclines to the northward no more than seventy miles from the parallel of the true Cape of Good Hope, which is very far from being the case in any of the sea or land-charts I have ever seen. It may not be amiss to subjoin the errors in latitude of these eastern points, as they appear in some of the charts.

	Keiskamma.	Rio d'Infante, or Great Fish River.	Zwartkop's Bay.
Neptune Oriental	32° 0'	32° 50'	33° 37'
Actual Observations	33 12	33 25	33 56
Errors - -	1 12	35	19
Captain Riou - -	32 30	33 25	33 46
Actual Observations	33 12	33 25	33 56
Errors - -	42' miles		10
Sparrmann - -	28 12	30 0	30 57
Actual Observations	33 12	33 25	33 56
Errors - -	5 0	3 25	2 59
Mr. Le Vaillant -	29 42	30 44	31 54
Actual Observations	33 12	33 25	33 56
Errors - -	3 30	2 41	2 2

With regard to the last-mentioned gentleman, I should not have noticed his map had he not endeavoured to impress the world with an idea of the great pains that were taken in collecting the materials, and of the assistance he afterwards received, and the attention that was bestowed, in putting them together. And in order to add force, as he supposes, to the value of his observations, with a pretended zeal for the cause of humanity (pretended because he knew that every line in his chart was false), he breaks out into the following apostrophe:—" Had " my voyage been productive of no other good than that of

“preventing a single shipwreck, I should have applauded myself during my whole life for undertaking it!” The fact is, he has done little more, in the eastern part of his map, than copy from Sparrmann; and the whole to the northward of Saint Helena Bay is a work of fancy. Two instances will be sufficient to shew how very little he is to be trusted. He places Camdeboo, and the beginning of the Snowy Mountains, in the latitude of about 28° south, instead of $32^{\circ} 15'$ south, an error of more than 290 English miles! And he makes the Orange River descend from the northward, nearly parallel to the coast, which, in fact, takes its rise near the eastern coast, and ascends towards the north-west. Messrs. Truter and Somerville, who, two years ago, penetrated farther into the interior of Southern Africa than any Europeans had ever done before, calculated that they crossed this river in about $29^{\circ} 0'$ south, and between 23° and 24° east of Greenwich. I skirted its banks from $29^{\circ} 40'$ to $30^{\circ} 15'$ south, and between the longitudes of $25^{\circ} 45'$ and $26^{\circ} 30'$ east, which shews, as I said before, that its course is north-westerly. *Monsieur Le Vaillant* cannot be offended at my pointing out his mistakes, as he himself has observed, that “a traveller ought to conceal nothing that may lead to error in the sciences.” Besides, I feel myself called upon to answer a charge, preferred against me by *Monsieur Grandpré*, the translator of my former volume, that I have attempted to invalidate the truth of *Monsieur Le Vaillant*’s work, because it was from the pen of a Frenchman. I can very seriously assure *Monsieur Grandpré*, that he is mistaken; that I consider the work of *Monsieur Le Vaillant* as replete with valuable matter, and ingenious observations; but they are so jumbled

jumbled together with fiction and romance, that none but those who have followed his steps can pretend to separate the one from the other. It is of little importance to mankind to know what exquisite amusement *Monsieur Le Vaillant* could derive from caressing his favourite ape, or to tell the world that "*Kees* was still a virgin!" It is sometimes allowable for a traveller to be "himself the hero of each little tale:" but *Monsieur Le Vaillant* is an hero on every occasion. To magnify his courage and his perseverance, to detail the prudence of his measures, and to describe in glowing language his sufferings, were soothing to his vanity; and, as most readers know how to appreciate them, the florid descriptions of his compiler can do little harm; but when he endeavours to mislead the world on subjects that are important, and to impress false notions of the people and the country he pretends to delineate, he lays himself open to censure, and ought, in justice to the public, to be exposed.

With regard to his not having crossed the Orange River, I consider the information of his best friends, the *Slabert* family, to be decisive; "he left Zwartland in July, travelled to the Orange River, and returned in the beginning of the following December." I may surely then be allowed to pronounce this part of his chart as a work of fancy, and his *Koraaquas*, *Kabobiquas*, and *Hoosuanas*, as "creatures of the brain." By the first he probably meant the *Koras*, a tribe of Hottentots dwelling on the banks of the said river, considerably higher than the place where he visited it; and of whom he might have obtained some account from the *Namaaquas*; and his *Hoosuanas* might,

might, perhaps, be intended for the *Boosbuanas*, whom the two above-mentioned gentlemen visited two years ago; instead, however, of the Pigmy Hottentots, which the first are represented to be, the latter were found to be a tall athletic race of Kaffers. These gentlemen, on comparing *Monsieur Le Vaillant's* book with the country, and the natives beyond the Orange River, were decidedly of opinion that, so far from advancing to the Tropic, he had never crossed the said river. But enough of *Monsieur Le Vaillant*. As to a work lately published under the name of Damberghe, it would be an insult to the understanding of the public, to suppose that so gross and clumsy an imposition could for a moment pass detection.

Having thus noticed some of the defects and omissions in the works of the most esteemed authors who have written on the Cape, I shall beg leave to say a word with respect to the manner in which the chart, prefixed to the former volume of this work, was constructed.

The geographical knowledge of the colony being so very imperfect, and only two partial maps in existence that could at all be depended on; one, that of *De la Rochette* already noticed; the other, a survey on a very large scale, having all the farms marked down from Zwellendam to Algoa Bay, and from the first chain of mountains to the sea-coast, comprehending, however, only a small portion of Zwellendam, Lord Macartney, in the instructions I had the honour to receive from him, enjoined me to pay a particular attention to this important subject. I furnished myself, accordingly, with a sextant of six inches

ches radius, by Ramsden; an artificial horizon; a good pocket chronometer; a pocket compass; and a measuring chain. Having been able, in the course of a few days, to ascertain pretty nearly the usual rate of travelling with waggons drawn by oxen, I carefully noted down the time employed from one halting place to another, with the direction of the road, as pointed out by the compass.

The uniform pace of the oxen, the level surface of the great Karroo or desert, and the straightness of the road, were *data* that might alone have supplied a sketch of tolerable exactness; but, in order to ascertain any little deviation that might have been made, either to the northward or the southward, a meridional altitude of the Sun was regularly taken every day, the constant clearness of the weather being favourable for such observations. A series of latitudes thus obtained, at intervals of about twenty miles of distance, supplied a correction by which the route might be reduced to a great degree of certainty.

The stations or resting-places of each day being verified by these means, I then took the bearings, and made interfections, of any remarkable point in the distant mountains, as long as it could be seen, for the purpose of determining its position upon the chart. The uninterrupted lines, in which the chains of mountains generally run on the south part of the continent of Africa, are particularly favourable for laying down a sketch of the country, without going through the detail of a regular survey.

Having

Having proceeded, in this manner, to mark down the route and the chains of mountains on each side of it, as far as the drofdy of Graaf Reynet, and from thence to the sea-coast at Algoa Bay, I here joined Lieutenant Rice of the navy, an able and intelligent navigator, who had been sent in his Majesty's brig the Hope, under the instructions of Rear-Admiral Pringle, to make a survey of this bay, and of the coast and bays from hence to the Cape. Here we made repeated observations for the latitude, but had no opportunity, during our stay, of taking the angular distance of the Sun and Moon, in order to determine the longitude. I therefore retained the longitude arising from the *data* I procured in the manner already mentioned, although it differed a little from Mr. Rice's, being about a degree more easterly. His longitude was the result of the log-reckoning; but as the currents that, at all seasons of the year, are found to set in one direction or another upon the Bank of L'Aguillas, render the log-reckoning very uncertain; and, as the result of observations, afterwards made, gave about the mean longitude between ours, it did not appear important to make any change in the chart. I was moreover induced to retain the longitude, brought out by computation of the distance and direction travelled, on perceiving that it differed not half a degree with that of Algoa Bay, as laid down in the excellent chart of the Bank L'Aguillas, published by Major Rennell.

A disagreement, however, will be found in some of the longitudes, as given in the text, and those marked in the chart, for the knowledge of which I am indebted to the writers of the Critical Review. This difference, which is not material, must

must have arisen, I suppose, from adopting, in the manuscript, the longitudes of Mr. Rice after the chart had been finished and sent to England, on the return of the Earl of Macartney; whereas, the manuscript was not transmitted for publication till twelve months afterwards. For I observe that the bays, on the south coast of the chart, are a little more easterly than they are said to be in the text; but in all the other parts, except the bays, the one exactly corresponds with the other.

That the relative situations of the several parts of the chart are correct, or pretty nearly so, I can venture to pronounce, as no pains were spared, nor precautions neglected, to make it as complete as the means I employed would admit; I have, indeed, received the flattering testimony of Brigadier (now Major-General) Vandeleur who, after travelling from the Cape of Good Hope to the Great Fish River, and from thence to Graaf Reynet, with a copy of the chart in his hand, and a good perambulator, observes, that he had not been able to discover an error amounting to ten miles in any part of the country over which he had passed. It may be right to mention, however, that I cannot be very certain as to the sea-coast between Saint Helena Bay and the Khamiesberg, as I could only obtain a sight of that coast from these two points; but the error cannot be considerable, nor of much importance, as charts of this description are not used for nautical purposes. The great object was to ascertain the extent of the settlement; the natural productions it afforded; and the relative position of its boundaries to the neighbouring tribes of natives; points, important as they were, that had hitherto not been determined.

The imperfect and partial accounts that have been given of the Cape may, in some measure, explain the jarring and contradictory opinions that have been held with regard to its importance, as connected with our Indian trade and settlements, and as a territorial acquisition. This remarkable promontory, the doubling of which formed a new æra in the annals of navigation, and on that account alone ought to be well known, has been variously represented. Whilst some have held it out as a terrestrial paradise, where nature spontaneously yielded all that was necessary, not only for the supply of the ordinary wants and conveniences, but also of the luxuries and superfluities of life; others have described it as a barren peninsular promontory, connected by a sandy isthmus to a still more barren continent.

In this instance, as in most cases, we may, perhaps, discover the truth to lie in the middle. It offers nothing very peculiar, either in the productive quality of the soil, or in its sterility. Where there is moisture the warmth of the climate promotes vegetation, without the preparation of an artificial soil by the aid of composts or manures; hence, one crop of grain in the year may be procured from the shallowest soil and even in sheer sand. But, unfortunately for the country, in the hottest months of the year, from the beginning of December to the end of March, and sometimes to the middle of April, there scarcely falls a single shower of rain. In these months, the verdure totally disappears; and the whole surface of the country presents to the eye either large tracts of white sand dotted with shrivelled heaths and other shrubs, struggling as it were to maintain

maintain the living principle, or regions covered with that brown sickly hue in which an angry poet, with more wit than justice, has dressed the surface of that part of our island to the northward of the Tweed:

“Far as the eye could reach, no tree was seen,

“Earth clad in russet, scorn’d the lively green.”

To persons arriving from a long sea voyage, and immediately meeting with most of the European, and some of the tropical, fruits, the Cape must, no doubt, appear a most delightful spot; and such persons, making a short stay, and loaded with refreshments for the succeeding part of their voyage, are apt to extol and to exaggerate the pleasantness and the value of the country. Botanists, also, and florists, are so taken up with the beauty, and vast variety, of flowering shrubs and bulbous rooted plants, that they are apt to overlook the sandy surface out of which they grow, entirely bare of any kind of grass, and destitute of that verdant turf which is so distinguishing a feature of our happy island. Beautiful as the heaths of the Cape most unquestionably are, yet those who have been accustomed to look at them nurtured in the green-houses of England, where all or most of the numerous species, and variety of the species, are collected into one groupe, and arranged so as to convey the most striking effect, would be greatly disappointed if they expected to meet with them, in the same state of perfection, in their native soil. They would here behold whole tracts of country covered, in the same manner as our heath lands, with one or two species, shattered and jagged by the force of the winds,

winds, shrivelled by the drought, or stubbed by the cattle. Even in the boggy grounds, where they grow to a size of which no idea can be formed from seeing the same species in England, they are neither so elegant in their habit, nor flower so freely, as in their cultivated state.

Those tracts, however, on which the shrubby plants are found, barren as they are, may be considered among the best that the settlement affords; the mountains generally exhibit masses of naked rock; and the Karroo deserts are wide expanded beds of compact clay tinged with iron, and mixed with pebbles of quartz and comminuted sand-stone. A piece of Karroo earth is not unlike, in appearance, to that of puzzoli, but entirely different in its nature, water which renders the latter hard, converting the former into a greasy marl. If these elevated plains were blessed with showers, which never happen in the winter season, nor indeed in summer, unless by occasional thunder storms, they would become the most fertile tracts of land in the whole settlement. If, by any accident, a stream of water has passed over Karroo ground, the productive quality of the soil, and the luxuriancy of vegetation, are almost incredible. Experience, in such situations, has shewn, that, without the assistance of manure, or the labour of fallowing, returns of corn have been produced from sixty to eighty fold.

The scarcity of water, the reason of which I shall endeavour to explain in the following chapter, is, in fact, the grand obstacle to an extended cultivation at the Cape of Good Hope. Wherever a streamlet occurs, a house is sure to be erected, and,
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were

were it not for such rills, scarcely an esculent vegetable would be produced in the summer season. The country, however, is capable of much improvement. Instead of the grounds being entirely open, and equally exposed to the winds and the Sun, trees and hedge-rows might be planted; tanks or reservoirs of water formed; wells dug; and the running streams encreased by opening their sources, and clearing out their channels.

It is very remarkable that the same people, who are celebrated in Europe for their industry and frugality, should become, in all their colonies, the most indolent and prodigal of all other nations. In the fine climate of the Cape they engage in little or no manual labour. If a common soldier, having served out his time, should obtain his discharge, and, having been brought up to some trade or profession, should commence business, the moment he is enabled to purchase a slave, he ceases to work. In Batavia, the Dutch are still more indolent; even their slaves are there so helpless, that were it not for the Chinese the Europeans must literally starve. These industrious people exercise all manner of trades and handicraft work, cultivate the ground, supply the market with vegetables, with butcher's meat, and with poultry; raise rice, pepper, coffee, and sugar, for consumption and exportation; carry on the whole commerce of the island both internal and coastways; act as brokers, factors, and interpreters between the Dutch government and the natives; farm, and collect, the taxes and revenues, both for the former and the latter; in a word, they possess among themselves the monopoly of the whole island. Yet, useful as these people are, and indispensably necessary to the Dutch in this settlement, their numbers

bers are regarded with an eye of jealousy, and their growing wealth with that of avarice. It is calculated that not fewer than one hundred thousand Chinese reside within the territories of the Dutch East India Company in this island, on each of whom it was proposed to lay a capitation tax of five rix-dollars; which, impolitic as it may appear, is still better than to put them to death in cold blood as they did, on the most frivolous pretext, about the middle of the last century, to the amount of many thousand souls. Ten thousand Chinese, transported to the Cape of Good Hope, would prove a more valuable gold mine to the colony, than those which are supposed to exist; but which most probably exist only in the imaginations of the settlers.

It is not, however, in the light of a settlement, capable of producing articles of valuable export to the mother country, on which the real importance of the Cape of Good Hope depends. Whatever its claims may be as a territorial possession, or a commercial emporium, in the hands of other powers, England ought to consider it in no other view than as a point of *security* or of *annoyance* to her possessions in the East Indies, and to her commerce with China. On this ground I shall endeavour to state the solid advantages to be derived from the Cape, as dependent on the crown of England; and the very serious consequences that may result from its remaining in the hands of an enemy.

The first, as being the most important consideration, will be the advantages it possesses as a military station; after which, I shall

shall attempt to point out its value as a port and naval station; and, in the last place, as a commercial emporium and territorial acquisition. These considerations will lead me to enquire into its real intrinsic value as a colony, in its present state, and to what extent it seems capable of further improvement. And, as the information on this head is most deficient, and opinions various and contradictory, it may not be unacceptable, and it certainly is not unimportant, to draw up, from authentic documents, a statistical sketch of the settlement, which will enable the reader to form a competent judgment of its value, as a country capable of supplying provisions, at a cheap rate, for the army and navy; of producing articles of export for Europe and America, in exchange for British produce and manufactures; and as a general depôt or central point for the southern whale fishery, which has now become so great an object of British trade and navigation.

If any of the hints thrown out in this volume should prove beneficial to my country, by suggesting such measures as may avert the evils which now threaten our trade and settlements in the East, I shall consider the labour and application of three months not to have been bestowed in vain.

CHAP. II.

Military Expedition to the Kaffer Frontier.

Occasion of this Expedition.—Affairs of Graaf Reynet.—Gordon's Bay.—Hottentot Holland's Kloof—Obstinacy of the Colonists.—Cruelty to Animals, bad Effects of.—Palmiet and Bott Rivers.—Temperature of the Air.—The Shoemaker's Hovel.—Rapid Vegetation after Rain—Plants first appearing.—Sweet Milk's Valley—wild Animals there.—Establishment of Hernbuters or Moravians—good Effects of.—Hottentots discouraged by the Colonists—Sir James Craig's Testimony of—other Missionaries.—Instance of Zeal in Mr. Kicherer—Reflection thereupon.—Instance of savage Cruelty in the Boors—a Boor taken into Custody.—Two of our Dragoons lost in a River.—Scarcity of Water attempted to be explained from the Nature and Antiquity of the Mountains—Facts adduced in Proof of the Theory.—Cape Isthmus never covered with the Sea—Reasons for such Conjecture.—L'Aguillas Bank once Part of the Continent.—Antiquity of Africa.—Muscle Bay—Chart and Description of.—Cross Attaqua Kloof into Lange Kloof.—Wine—Raisins—Brandy—all of bad Quality.—Experiment for making good Wine.—Appearance of Lange Kloof—cross the Mountains to Plettenberg's Bay—Reason why Forest Trees are more abundant there than elsewhere.—Mr. Calander's Account of the Knysna—and surrounding Country.—Condition of a Cape Boor.—Anchor found on Table Mountain.—Plants near Plettenberg's Bay—and Animals.—Instance of Ingenuity in a deaf and dumb Man.—Appearance of the Country between Camtoos River and Algoa Bay.—Engagement between La Preneuse and the Rattlesnake.—Change of Circumstances favourable to the Boors—rebellious Boors sent to the Cape—tried by the Court of Justice there—Constitution of this Court—bad Character of undeserved. Boors plundered by the Hottentots—Justification of these People—their cruel Treatment by the Boors—Examples of in a Hottentot Woman and Child cut with Shambocs—in a Boy with Iron Rings clenched on his Legs—Punishment of the Boor.—Another Instance of the sanguinary Character of the Boors—its Cause explained.—People of

of Cape Town.—The Burgher and the Whale.—Character and Mode of Life—tenacious of Rank.—Hottentot Corps—Character of.—Condition of the Slaves.—Imprudence of the Whites.—Administration of Justice between the Whites and Blacks.—Rencontre with the Kaffer Chief Congo.—Comparison between the Persons of Boors and Kaffers.—Reflection.—Food of the Kaffers.—Boosbuanas.—City of Leetakoo.—Conjecture of the Kaffer Origin—Extent of their Country—their Dogs not subject to Canine Madness.—Small Pox not endemic in South Africa—Origin of.—High Situations favourable to the Growth of Animals.—Uncommon Instance of Bulk in a Woman—Fate of this hapless Creature.—Attack of the Kaffers upon the British Troops—a wounded Kaffer taken.—Rencontre of Boors and Hottentots at Algoa Bay.—Kaffers storm the British Camp.—Melancholy Fate of Lieutenant Chumney and sixteen Men.—Ill judged Conduct of the Boors—Consequences.—Hatred of Kaffers and Hottentots against the Boors—Conduct of the latter at Plettenberg's Bay.—Horrid Murder committed in Lange Klooff.—Curious Articles of Instructions proposed for the Boors in their Wars with the Kaffers.—Return to the Cape.—Change of Conduct in the Colonists—reconciled to the British Government—indifferent as to the Return of their own—little Rejoicing shewn at this Event—Reasons of it—final Evacuation.

FROM the moment that the departure of the Earl of Macartney for England was made known in the distant parts of the colony, the ignorant and misguided boors, excited by that party of mischievous, and not less ignorant, persons in Cape Town, who had long shewn themselves averse to all government, seemed to think that with his Lordship had departed all authority and the means of bringing them to legal punishment. Their restless and turbulent minds, and, above all, their avaricious and iniquitous views upon the harmless Kaffers, could no longer brook restraint; and they determined, at a select meeting, as one of them observed in a letter to his friend at the Cape, "Now that the old Lord was gone away, to prove themselves true patriots."

The first act of their patriotic spirit was an attempt to take by violence, out of the hands of justice, a criminal whom the Landroft, or chief magistrate of the district, had forwarded, under the escort of a dragoon, towards the Cape. His crime, which was an act of forgery on orphan property, committed to the care of a constituted board in the Cape called the *Weefkammer*, or chamber for managing the effects of minors and orphans, had been fully proved against him before the provincial court of judicature; but being one of the patriotic party, and a very distinguished character in all the disturbances that had taken place in this district, he was considered as too valuable a subject to be taken off by a regular course of justice. Accordingly, about fourteen boors, each armed with an enormous musquet used for killing elephants and other wild beasts, were dispatched upon the Karroo, or great desert, on the meritorious enterprize of restoring the culprit to the society of which he was a member. The dragoon, however, into whose custody he had been committed, thought proper to demur, and at length told them, in a very resolute and spirited manner, that sooner than surrender him into their hands, or suffer him to be taken out of his, he should certainly blow out his brains. But the Landroft's secretary, who had also been sent in joint charge of the prisoner, no less frightened than the boors were at the determined manner of the dragoon, prevailed upon the latter, if not to relinquish the criminal, at least to convey him back to the droshy, and deliver him up to the Landroft; to this he reluctantly assented; the courageous boors keeping at a proper distance from the waggon,

Having,

Having, however, proceeded thus far, without displaying any extraordinary exploits of patriotism, the shame of their failure seemed to require that they should go a step farther. With the assistance of a schoolmaster, whom they found no difficulty in persuading to be of their party, they issued circular letters to their brother boors, entreating such as they knew to be well disposed to act with them, and commanding, in a menacing tone, others whose co-operation was doubtful, to assemble in arms without delay. Their first movement was to station themselves near the ford of the Sunday River, just at the entrance of the village; and to send from thence to the Landroft a threatening message, that, unless he would comply with all the demands they were about to make, they should, in the first place, seize upon his person, and either hang him before his own door, or deliver him over to some of the boors against whom he had, on a former occasion, been the instrument of obtaining a decree of outlawry, and who were now living with the Kaffers. The Landroft, by means of a few dragoons who luckily happened at this time to be stationed at the drostdy, for the purpose of forwarding dispatches through the country, was not only enabled to hold this undisciplined rabble, though ten times the number of his forces, at defiance, but also secretly to convey to the government at the Cape speedy intelligence of the rebellious conduct of the farmers of his district.

I have already observed, in the former volume of this work, that the disorderly and riotous behaviour of the boors of Graaf Reynet, in insulting and driving away the first magistrate, and the minister of the gospel, had determined General Sir

James Craig to send a military force into the district, to compel them, by martial law if necessary, to a sense of their duty; which a just and indulgent administration of the colonial laws had failed to do:—that this force had actually marched to the feet of the first range of mountains, where a most humble and submissive address from the rebels, promising, in future, observance of good order and obedience to the laws, stopped its progress:—that Lord Macartney, thinking to conciliate by laying them under obligations, such as their former government never could have done, but which his Majesty's instructions enabled him to put in practice, not only granted a full pardon for all their manifold offences and misdemeanors, but also remitted them arrears of ground-rent, due to the treasury, to the amount of two hundred thousand rix dollars; not doubting that he should, at least, obtain from their gratitude, what their restless temper, joined to their extreme ignorance, had hitherto seemed to have rendered almost a moral impossibility—respect for his Majesty's government, and obedience to their own laws.

These gracious indulgencies, that appeared to make some impression for the moment, were however soon forgotten, and it now became obvious that nothing short of a military force could keep them in any sort of order. And as, at this time, the Cape was perfectly secure from any attack of a foreign enemy, General Dundas thought it expedient to direct that a detachment, composed of a squadron of dragoons, a few companies of infantry, and the greater part of the Hottentot corps, should march into the district under the command of brigadier
General

General Vandeleur. The rebellious boors, now collected in very considerable numbers, had stationed themselves between the droosdy and Algoa Bay, where they had formed a kind of camp, and, to a certain degree, according to the new term which their Cape friends had taught them to adopt, had *organized* their forces.

But as the courage of these people displays itself only on particular occasions, such as in acting against defenceless Hottentots, the moment they heard that troops were advancing, they thought proper to disperse, leaving, in the hands of a neutral person, a most humble petition, in which they acknowledged their error, and supplicated forgiveness. To this address the general very properly returned a verbal answer, stating, that he could hold no communication with rebels, until they had voluntarily surrendered themselves to his discretion, and laid their arms at his feet; that, for this purpose, he should name a certain place and day; and that all such as should not appear at the time and place appointed, would be considered in the light of rebels and traitors to his Majesty's government, and would be pursued accordingly.

On the day fixed, the majority of the rebels obeyed the summons; and never surely was exhibited such a motley group of armed cavalry so whimsically equipped. The greater part were such uncouth beings, so very

“ ————Huge of bulk,
“ Wallowing unwieldy, enormous in their gait,”

that

that it was morally impossible for the by-standers to observe the gravity of countenance which the occasion required; and the awkward manner in which they dismounted, with the difficulty that some of them experienced on account of the protuberance of their bellies, in grounding their arms, were sufficient to throw the most serious off their guard. The General selected nine of the ringleaders, and sent them under an escort on board his Majesty's ship the Rattlesnake, then at anchor in Algoa Bay; on the rest he levied a certain fine towards defraying the expences of the expedition, which their absurd and rebellious conduct had occasioned.

Before this termination of disturbances, which, if suffered to extend to the other districts of the colony, might have been attended with more serious consequences, General Dundas accepted my offer to proceed through the district of Zwellendam, for the purpose of cutting off any communication with Graaf Reynet, and particularly with a view of preventing any supplies of gunpowder from reaching the rebels; at the same time to send up to the Cape certain persons, who had shewn themselves active in promoting discontent in Zwellendam, and who were known to be disaffected, not only to the British government, but to every other that laid them under the restraint of laws. This journey, the extent of which was intended to be confined to the borders of the Camtoos river, dividing the two districts of Graaf Reynet and Zwellendam, was prolonged, by unforeseen circumstances, into the country inhabited by the Kaffers: and it thus afforded the principal part of the remarks and observations which are contained in the present chapter.

On

On the 8th of March 1799 I joined Lieutenant (now Captain) Smyth, of the corps of engineers and Aid-du-Camp of General Dundas, with a serjeant's party of dragoons at the foot of Hottentot Holland's Kloof, which is the only pass leading to the eastern parts of the colony, over the high chain of mountains that terminates the Cape isthmus; which chain, at a few miles to the southward of the Kloof, forms the eastern boundary of the extensive bay *Falfe*. In the north-east corner of this arm of the sea is a cove called Gordon's Bay, a place that has not hitherto obtained that attention, which the importance of its situation would seem to point out. The anchorage is said to be safe, the landing easy on a smooth sandy beach; and its proximity to the above mentioned pass over the mountains would insure an enemy the possession of it, in its present defenceless state, long before means could be taken for preventing it from the Cape, or even from Simon's Town on the opposite side of the bay. A few men with a couple of light guns, long field-pieces or howitzers, stationed in this Kloof, would require a whole regiment to drive them out; and, so long as they could hold this important pass, all supplies coming through it from the nearer parts of the district of Zwellendam would be completely cut off from Cape Town; nor would they find the least difficulty in subsisting themselves from the country in their rear. To make a diversion, in meditating an attack upon the Cape, by sending a frigate to land a company in Gordon's Bay, one at Blauwberg opposite Roben island, and another with two or three companies into Saldanha Bay, would greatly embarrass the garrison, as it would be under the necessity of detaching from the works a very superior force in order to make any impression. A post

at Blauwberg would command all the great roads leading to Cape Town from the north and north-east; Saldanha Bay is the key to Zwartland, the principal granary of the colony; and the second Kloof, that of Rhode Sand, might speedily be taken possession of from thence; nothing would then remain for the garrison but to dispute those passes, or to starve within their lines.

To understand exactly what is meant by a kloof, the reader may imagine a continued chain of mountains to be cleft, or torn asunder, so that the corresponding parts of the sides of the chasm, some projecting others retiring, if closed again, would fit to each other; and the passage is more or less steep inversely as the magnitude of the rent. In the Dutch government the one in question was so neglected as scarcely to be passable by waggons; but since the colony became English it has undergone a thorough repair. To carry into effect this useful work, a small contribution was levied on those who derived the greatest advantage from the improvement; but such is the uncouth temper of the people, and so adverse to every thing that tends to public benefit, that, rather than pay the trifling sum of a shilling, many of those who came from the distant parts preferred to avoid this kloof by making a circuit of two days journey, and passing that of *Rhode Sand* which is still worse.

And although the repair has been the means of saving the life of many a poor ox, yet, on our return, we observed two carcases of these animals that had recently been left to expire among the rocks. If, after cutting and flashing these poor creatures with their enormous whips, the phlegm of a Dutch boor

boor so far gets the better of his passion, on seeing that his beast is completely exhausted, that instead of drawing his knife, or kindling a fire under its belly, he unyokes it, the chances are still ten to one the animal never rises more. The moment it is left alone a flock of the Egyptian vultures, and the still more voracious vulturine crows, are sure to tear it in pieces, making it undergo a most cruel and protracted death. I saw an instance of this kind that was really shocking to the feelings of humanity. On the only great and public road, leading from Cape Town towards Rondebosch, a road that at least a thousand people, of one description or another, pass in the course of the day, I observed an ox lying, in the midst of the way and within two miles of the town, with part of the bowels torn out of the belly. The third day after this I passed the same way, and the ox was still alive with its head erect, and the bowels lying on the ground beside it; and thus it might have lain to linger away with pain and hunger, perhaps as many days more, had I not requested the chief officer of the police to send a person and dispatch it. The habitude which the people of this colony necessarily acquire it witnessing instances of cruelty on human as well as brute creatures, cannot fail to produce a tendency to hardness of heart, and to stifle feelings of tenderness and benevolence. In fact the rigour of justice is rarely softened with the balm of mercy. All criminals, condemned to suffer the punishment of death, are afterwards hung in chains close to the public road, to be eaten by the crows and vultures. And, under the old government, when a slave had been guilty of murdering a colonist, implacable rancour, not satisfied with putting in practice every species of torture that malignant and diabolical ingenuity could invent, as

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long as any signs of life remained in the criminal, sentenced him to be torn limb from limb, and the several parts to be hung upon posts erected for the purpose in the most public parts of the high road. Many of such posts still remain, rather as deplorable memorials of what vindictive malice could invent, than as examples for preventing similar crimes.

If in any instance they relax from cruelty to the brute creation, it is in the mode of slaughtering cattle, which they learned from the Hottentots, and which I understand has lately been put in practice in England under the name of *laying*. This is done by thrusting a pointed instrument into the commencement of the spinal marrow just behind the horns. The animal drops without a groan, and dies almost without a struggle; after this the throat is cut to let out the blood, and it is pretended that the effect on the flesh is, like that of crimping fish, to make it close and firm.

The first river we had occasion to cross, beyond the mountains, is called by the Dutch the Palmiet, the name of a strong boggy plant that grows abundantly in this and some other rivers of the colony. The name arises from its resemblance to some of the palm tribe, but, if I mistake not, it is a species of *Acorus*. For eight months in the year it scarcely contains a drop of water, but is mostly impassable the other four; which is also the case with the Bott river about ten miles beyond the Palmiet. Both of these periodical streams are unsafe in the winter season, and fatal accidents have happened to persons attempting to cross them when full. Among these may be mentioned

tioned that of Mr. Patrick, assistant-surgeon to the 8th Light Dragoons, whose horse being unable to stem the stream, was carried down the river, and the rider perished.

The country affords tolerable good pasturage, and will yield one moderate crop of grain in the season without manure. It is thinly inhabited, consisting principally of grazing farms which belong to persons who hold estates upon the Cape side of the mountains. The first house that occurred in our route was near ten miles beyond the kloof, which, by losing our way in the dark across the wide heath, we did not reach before midnight.

The 9th of March was the hottest and most oppressive day I ever experienced in Southern Africa. I had no thermometer with me, but I afterwards learnt that, during the whole day nearly, the temperature in Cape Town was 104° of Fahrenheit's Scale. In the whole of this day's march, of about twenty miles, we were not able to procure a drop of water for the horses, except once just after starting, nor even any shade from the scorching rays of the sun; for trees of any description in this part of the country are as rare as Doctor Johnson found them to be, of as great an age as himself, in Scotland. The horse on which I was mounted was so much overcome by the heat, that it literally dropped down under me, and was unable to carry me any farther.

Wearied and exhausted we reached, at length, the hovel of a shoemaker, near which we found a few puddles of muddy
water,

water, stagnating in the clayey bed of a rivulet, but it was so much impregnated with earth and salts that the horses, thirsty as they were, would scarcely touch it. At this place we contrived to pass the night, but we experienced a most uncomfortable lodging. Unluckily for us it happened to be Sunday, and, the shoemaker being known to all his neighbours, living within the circuit of twenty miles, and particularly to his *nearest* neighbours of three or four miles, to be a jolly good fellow, who always kept a glass of wine, and a strong *sopie* to regale his friends, the house was crowded with people. There were but two apartments, one of which was filled with the company; the other we occupied. This, it seemed, was made to answer the four-fold purpose of bed-chamber, work-shop, cellar, and storehouse. The heat of the weather, the closeness of the room, which had only one small aperture to admit the light, added to the mingled odours arising from stinking leather, bunches of onions, butchers' meat swarming with flies, fumes of tobacco, dregs of wine and gin and Cape brandy, standing in pools on the clayed floor; in a word, such "a congregation of foul and pestilential vapours," were sufficient to nauseate stomachs much less squeamish than ours. Nor was the sense of feeling less annoyed by an innumerable quantity of bugs, fleas, and musquitoes. Perhaps, indeed, it might be considered as an advantage in having two or three senses tormented at once; as the pain affecting one might, in a certain degree, be deadened by the acuteness of feeling in another. How often, in the course of this night, did I bless my good fortune, in having used my waggon for my lodging house in all my former long journies through this miserable country; inhabited

bited by a still more miserable race of mortals! How many sleepless nights, and nauseous scenes, have I not avoided by adopting such a plan!

To add to our present uncomfortable situation, the guests were perpetually interrupting us in their application to the wine cask, or the brandy bottle. Our patience, at length, being quite exhausted, we resolved to barricade the door. This, however, failed of success. The votaries of Bacchus were not so easily to be disappointed of their weekly libations. After several fruitless attempts to force the door, they thought of trying the window; but this small pigeon-hole, being much too narrow in its dimensions to admit the huge carcase of an African boor, obliged them to have recourse to the expedient of sending in a thin Hottentot girl; but, on account of the peculiar shape of the women of this nation, the lower part of the body refused to follow where the head had passed, and she stuck fast in the window. This produced a prodigious burst of boisterous mirth; the girl, however, after a great deal of squeezing and pushing, effected the purpose, and procured for the tumultuous boors a supply of their favourite liquors. To prevent a return we barred in the window, and having thus completely made ourselves masters of the cellar, the boors, after several volleys of imprecations, accompanied with thundering assaults, sometimes at the door, and then at the window, thought fit about midnight to leave the house, in search of another jovial neighbour at the distance, perhaps, of eight or ten miles. This scene would have afforded an excellent subject for the pencil of

Ostade,

Ostade, who, judging from his pictures, must have been witness to many of the same kind.

The noise of the Bacchanalians was accompanied by a storm of thunder; and the rain, that fell in the course of the night, had rendered the air the next morning cool and refreshing. It was the first shower that had fallen in this part of the country for near four months, and the effects of it on the ground were very sensibly perceived in the course of four days.

At this season of the year, when the earth is thoroughly heated, the rapidity with which vegetation bursts forth, after rain, is almost incredible. Among the earliest of such plants, as by the brilliancy of their flowers captivate the sight, are the various species of the *oxalis*, the yellow star-flower, and the three-coloured *Lachenalia*, with two or three other species of the same genus. But one of the most singular among the small plants, that blossom in the beginning of winter, is the *septas*, whose name is derived from the regular septenary division of all the different parts of fructification, and is remarkable for being the only plant, yet discovered, in the seventh class and seventh order of the Linnæan System.

The refreshing coolness, occasioned by the rain, permitted us to extend our march to the river *Zonder End*, or Endless River, near the banks of which the Dutch East India Company had reserved, for its own use, an extensive tract of land called the *Sweet Milk's Valley*. It is bounded on the north side by a range

range of hills that were once well covered with forest trees, but these have long been cut down, few of any magnitude now remaining, except in the deep chasms where they are scarcely accessible. The country, on each side of the river, is extremely pleasant, and tolerably well inhabited, in comparison at least with other parts; the dwellings being seldom removed from one another beyond the regulated distance of three miles. A few of the small kind of antelopes still remain, as *reebocks*, *springbocks*, *griesbocks*, and *duykers*, and plenty of hares and partridges; but the large *bontebucks* are almost totally destroyed, or driven to some other part of the settlement. I observed, in the former volume, that in the neighbourhood of this river was once to be found the *Leucophæa* or blue antelope, but that, for many years past, it had been lost to the colony. I understood, however, that, a few months before we evacuated the Cape, a small herd of this beautiful animal had again made its appearance among the wooded hills behind Sweet Milk Valley, where, instead of suffering them to remain unmolested, at least for some time, the farmers were lying in wait for their destruction.

Close to this river is the establishment of the *Hernhüters* or Moravian missionaries, who, by the protection afforded them under the British government, and its liberality, through General Dundas, in enabling them to enlarge their territory, had succeeded so far, in the object of their mission, as to bring together into one society, not fewer, at the time of the evacuation of the colony, than six hundred poor Hottentots; whom they not only instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, but by example, as well as precept, taught to feel, that
their

their value in society was in proportion to the benefits they were able to render to that society, by their labour and moral conduct.

These men have clearly shewn to the world, by the effects of this institution, that there is not among savages, in general, that invincible aversion to labour which some have been inclined to suppose. Those, indeed, whose daily subsistence depends on the chase, may contract a disposition to rambling and to a frequent change of place, but the precarious supply of food obtained by hunting is not the reward of sluggish indolence, but of toil, of lassitude, and anxiety. The fewer the wants that man has to gratify, the less inclination will he feel to exert his corporeal powers. In a mere savage state, if these wants could be supplied without any effort, the predominant pleasures of life would consist in eating and sleeping. The propensity to inaction can only be overcome by giving the labourer an interest in the product of his labour; by making him feel the weight and value of property. The colonists of the Cape pursued no such plan with regard to their conduct towards the Hottentots. Having first held out the irresistible charm that spirituous liquors and tobacco are found to possess among all people in a rude state of society, they took the advantage of exchanging those pernicious poisons for the only means the natives enjoyed of subsisting themselves and their families; and, however extraordinary it may appear, instead of instructing and encouraging a race of men, of willing and intelligent minds, to renew the means of subsistence, of which they had deprived them, they imported, at a vast expence, a number of Malay slaves, not
more

more expert, and much less to be depended on, than the Hottentots; to whom, indeed, they even preferred the stupid negroes of Mosambique and Madagascar.

Whether it happened from real ignorance of the character of these natives, or from strong prejudices imbibed against them, or from an adherence to a narrow policy, I cannot pretend to determine; but, from the enquiries I have made, it does not appear they have at any period experienced a treatment equally favourable to that of the meanest slaves. Not many years ago it was thought expedient, for some purpose or other, to assemble a considerable number in or near the town, but the business for which they were collected, dwindling into a job for the emolument of the persons who had the management of it; and as the Hottentots were neither paid, clothed, nor fed, they exhibited a scene of filth, misery, and wretchedness; they became a nuisance to the town, and were in consequence disbanded.

The colonists were ready to predict a similar fate to the attempt of Sir James Craig, of forming them into a corps; but their predictions ended in their disappointment. Never," observes Sir James, "were people more contented or more
"grateful for the treatment they now receive. We have up-
"wards of three hundred who have been with us nine months.
"It is, therefore, with the opportunity of knowing them well,
"that I venture to pronounce them an intelligent race of men.
"All who bear arms exercise well, and understand immediately,
"and perfectly, whatever they are taught to perform. Many

“ of them speak English tolerably well. We were told that
“ so great was their propensity to drunkenness, we should ne-
“ ver be able to reduce them to order or discipline, and that the
“ habit of roving was so rooted in their disposition, we must
“ expect the whole corps would desert, the moment they had
“ received their clothing. With respect to the first, I do not
“ find they are more given to the vice of drinking than
“ our own people; and, as to their pretended propensity to
“ roving, that charge is fully confuted by the circumstance of
“ only one man having left us since I first adopted the measure
“ of assembling them, and he was urged to this step from hav-
“ ing accidentally lost his firelock.”—“ Of all the qualities,” he
further observes, “ that can be ascribed to a Hottentot, it will
“ little be expected I should expatiate upon their cleanliness; and
“ yet it is certain that, at this moment, our Hottentot parade
“ would not suffer in a comparison with that of some of our re-
“ gular regiments. Their clothing may, perhaps, have suf-
“ fered more than it ought to have done, in the time since it
“ was issued to them, from their ignorance of the means of
“ preserving it; but those articles, which are capable of being
“ kept clean by washing, together with their arms and accou-
“ trements, which they have been taught to keep bright, are
“ always in good order. They are now, likewise, cleanly in
“ their persons; the practice of smearing themselves with
“ grease being entirely left off. I have frequently observed
“ them washing themselves in a rivulet, where they could have
“ in view no other object but cleanliness.” It will be no less
satisfactory to the reader, than it is gratifying to myself, in
thus having an opportunity of adding, in support of my former
descrip-

description of the moral character of this people, the opinion of such high and respectable authority.

None felt more sincere regret and uneasiness at that article in the treaty of peace, which ceded the Cape to its former owners, than these worthy missionaries. From the malignant spirit of the boers, they had every thing to apprehend. The friends of humanity, however, will rejoice to learn, that this asylum for an innocent and oppressed race of men continues to receive the countenance and protection of the present government; the two leading members of which appear to be actuated by views and sentiments very different from those of the majority of the people, over which they are appointed to rule. It is obvious, indeed, to every man of common understanding, that an institution so encouraged cannot fail to prove of infinite advantage to a colony where useful labour is so much wanted. If any example were capable of rousing the sluggish settlers, that of six hundred people being subsisted on the same space of ground, which every individual family among them occupies, for they had nothing more till very lately than a common loan farm of three miles in diameter, would be sufficient to stimulate them to habits of industry.

Other missionaries, but of different societies, have lately proceeded to very distant parts of the colony, and some even much beyond it, both among the Kaffers to the eastward, and the Bosjesman Hottentots to the northward. The latter they represent as a docile and tractable people, of innocent manners, and grateful to their benefactors beyond expression; but the

Kaffers, they say, are a volatile race, extremely good-humoured, but turn into ridicule all their attempts to convert them to Christianity. Mr. Kicherer, a regular bred minister of the reformed church, and a gentleman of mild and persuasive manners, proceeded, alone and totally unprotected, into the midst of the Bosjesman hordes on the skirts of the Orange River. He considered, that a solitary being without arms, or any visible means of doing injury to his fellow mortals, would be received without suspicion, and might enter into the society of the most savage hordes without danger. The event proved his conjectures to be right. He lived in the midst of a tribe, the most needy and wretched that he could discover, for many years; shared with them every inconvenience; and suffered a total privation of all the comforts, and very frequently even of the necessaries, of life; with a weak constitution, he braved the vicissitudes of an unsteady climate in scanty clothing, in temporary huts and hovels that were neither proof against wind nor water, and oftentimes in the open air; on deserts wild and naked as those of Arabia; he learned their language; instructed them in the benevolent doctrines of Christianity; and endeavoured with enthusiastic zeal, to assuage their miserable lot in this life, by assuring them that there was "Another and a better world:" in a word, he became so much attached to this most indigent and deplorable race of human beings, who possess nothing they can call their own, but live from day to day on the precarious spoils of the chase, and commonly on the spontaneous products of a barren soil, that it was not without difficulty, and great distress to his feelings, he mustered resolution to tear himself from his little flock: lingering under a
disease

disease that threatened to terminate in a consumption, he could not be prevailed upon to desert them, when urged by his friends to accept of a vacant living of one of the colonial churches, which was offered to him by the government.

When one reflects for a moment on the toils and hardships, the dangers and the difficulties, that these religious enthusiasts voluntarily undergo, without any prospect of reward, or even reputation, in this world, it is impossible to withhold admiration at a conduct so seemingly disinterested, and whose motives appear to be under an influence so different from that by which most human actions are governed. Whatever degree of merit may be due to this class of missionaries, the practical philosopher will, unquestionably, give the preference to the plan of the Moravians, which unites with precepts of religion and morality a spirit of useful labour; and whose grand aim is to make their disciples comfortable in this world, as a token or earnest of that which is to come. But after all the toil and anxiety which the worthy character above mentioned cheerfully underwent in the cause of suffering humanity, what must his feelings be, if he still be living, and happens to peruse the following letter, to find that his only reward is that of being considered by the vile people of the Cape as the abettor of murder, and that he has been with others the innocent cause of fifteen of his inoffensive disciples being inhumanly butchered in cold blood by those remorseless colonists who dare to call themselves by the sacred name of Christians. This letter, which just reached me as the present work was going to the press, will serve to shew, among other facts I shall have occasion to state, of what de-
liberate

liberate and blood-thirsty ruffians the peasantry of the Cape are composed.

Extract of a letter written from the Sneeuwberg, the 29th day of January 1803, signed O. A. S. Meyer, and addressed to Cornelis de Kok, in Cape Town.

“ I am going to inform you of something that happened on
 “ the 6th of December 1802. About the evening three Bos-
 “ jesmans came to the house of the Burger Cornelis Jansen,
 “ having with them three pack-oxen (*draag-offen*); the said
 “ Jansen immediately reported it to the commandant (*Veld-*
 “ *Cornet*), who instantly sent an armed party (*commando*) to his
 “ house. On the following day, being the 7th, there came
 “ twelve more to them, having three guns and three pack-oxen;
 “ all the rest were well armed with bows, arrows, and hassagays.
 “ The commandant Berger went himself to Jansen’s in the
 “ morning to ask the reason of their coming there, when he
 “ discovered that eight of them were *Koranas* and seven Bos-
 “ jesmans. Being asked by the party what they came to do,
 “ they said that they were come to beg a little *dacha* (*bemp*) and
 “ tobacco. The commandant had the same answer, but *he*
 “ *understood the way to question them so closely, that he brought*
 “ *them to open confession* (by horrid tortures no doubt), that they
 “ came to examine how their farms (*plaatzen*) were to be at-
 “ tacked; and also to see if there was water enough to come
 “ with a *great troop*. Being asked who had sent them, they
 “ answered *Trüter* and the English missionary *Kicherer*, in or-
 “ der to spy the places, and return to the *kraal* where *Kicherer*
 “ and

“ and *Trüter* would wait their return, to furnish them with
“ musquets, powder, and ball. On being asked how they were
“ to execute it? they answered, by attacking the farm-houses
“ by two and two at the same time, so that they could not
“ assist one another. ALL THE FIFTEEN WE HAVE SHOT
“ DEAD (*doodgeschooten*), HAVING FIRST EXTORTED THIS
“ CONFESSION FROM THEM. The hat which *Trüter* gave to
“ the captain we have got; it is a black one with a silver band,
“ and a cane with a brass head, on which is engraved “ Captain
“ Kauwinnoub.” Mark now with what murderous intentions
“ is this *Trüter* inspired against us! To have us all massacred
“ in our houses!

“ You may with great safety shew this to Andries Muller.

“ (Signed) O. A. S. MEYER.”

I observed in the preliminary chapter of this volume, that Messrs. *Trüter* and Somerville had penetrated farther into the interior of South Africa than any former Europeans. These gentlemen were sent in an official capacity, with a view of procuring a supply of draught oxen, on a serious alarm being entertained, and representations made to government, that the operations of agriculture must be suspended, on account of the numbers of cattle that had perished through the drought of the year 1800, unless a fresh supply could be obtained from some of the bordering tribes of the original inhabitants. Though these representations were meant, in all probability, to be the foundation of a scheme similar to many of the same kind which were practised under the Dutch government, with no other view than

than that of enriching the individuals concerned, by the plunder of cattle belonging to the harmless natives, the British government thought it expedient, in order to demonstrate its readiness to attend to the interests of the colonists, to take into consideration the state of the case, being aware at the same time of the danger of entrusting any commission of such a nature to the Dutch peasantry. The disturbances raised by the boors on the borders of the Kaffer country discouraged any attempt to open a traffic with this nation, but accounts of an imperfect nature were entertained, that a nation called the *Briequas*, or more properly, as it seems, the *Bosbuanas*, about sixteen days' journey to the northward of the Orange River, were likely to furnish the necessary supply; and as this journey, over an unbeaten tract, could not fail to be productive of novelty, and might furnish new objects of curiosity, Mr. Trüter, member of the Court of Justice, and Mr. Somerville, the garrison surgeon, were immediately pointed out as two gentlemen possessing in every respect the proper qualifications for undertaking such an expedition. Mr. Trüter had been a servant of the Dutch East India Company for more than thirty years, during which period he bore an irreproachable character; and the English government is not less indebted to the zeal and fidelity with which he continued, more from principle than expectation of emolument which he did not want, to perform the laborious duties of a member of the Court of Justice, during the seven years it held possession of the Cape. To an open and generous disposition he adds the most scrupulous exactness in all transactions between man and man. His temper is cheerful, his heart benevolent, and the turn of his mind strongly inclined to acquire knowledge.

ledge. Of Mr. Somerville it is sufficient to say he is a Briton, a character far beyond the reach of any calumny that an African Dutchman can invent; and as the public, it is to be hoped, will be gratified with his account of the expedition, I leave it to him to defend himself and companions against a charge which nothing but inherent falsehood and diabolical malevolence, and their own insatiable thirst after human blood, could have conceived. It was on this expedition these two gentlemen met with Mr. Kicherer, a regular bred minister of the reformed church of the United Provinces, who, on their return, embarked for Holland; Mr. Somerville shortly afterwards for England, and Mr. Trüter remained behind, where he became the object of their brutal malice, in revenge, I suppose, for having found it expedient on their journey to discharge and turn away the eight or ten boors that accompanied them, for their idle, disorderly, and thievish conduct. For the atrocious murder of the poor wretches whom famine, in all probability, had driven to ask relief of the pitiless spoilers of their native land, it were greatly to be wished that divine wrath would manifest itself among the brutal perpetrators by some signal calamity, since neither human laws nor human feelings can restrain them. If this account should have reached the knowledge of the Commander in Chief of the settlement, which no doubt it must have done, I have to hope, from his humane and truly benevolent disposition, he will have put in execution the benignant sentiments I have heard him utter in favour of the unprotected Hottentots. “If the life of a single child be taken away, and “the murderer not brought to legal punishment, I shall feel
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"myself unfit for my situation and unworthy the character of
"a human being."

The first day's march beyond the Sweet Milk's Valley was across a tame flat country, the road winding along the right bank of the Endless River; a name whose fallacy was detected by crossing it, on the next day's journey, just where it forms a confluence with, and of course ends in, the Broad River. The latter, in the winter months, is a vast volume of water sufficient to float a ship of the line, but, in summer, not more than ankle deep. The distance from this river to Zwellendam, the seat of the Landrost and capital of the district so called, is only about nine miles, over a country that is capable of an extensive cultivation, but which is suffered to remain almost entirely an unproductive desert.

As we knew this to be the only village that would occur in the course of our long journey, we thought it prudent to halt a day, in order to refresh the horses, have their shoes removed or renewed, and the saddles repaired; after which we continued our march, for three easy days, to a tolerable good farm-house called the *Hagel Kraal*, situated at the foot of the *Attaquas Kloof*. The country we had passed was little calculated to excite any degree of interest; the dwellings, as usual, were thinly scattered; the land under no regular system of tillage, exhibiting a barren waste, without a single tree, or even a shrub, that by its size or beauty would arrest the attention of the traveller; yet the soil of the greater part of the country appeared to be superior to

to most of the corn-lands in the vicinity of the Cape. Here too a scarcity is observable of the most ordinary game of the country, such as small antelopes, hares, partridges, and the several species of bustards.

From this place it was our intention to cross the first chain of mountains which runs parallel, or nearly so, with the sea-coast. Previous, however, to this undertaking, it was found necessary, in conformity to the instructions I had received, to take into custody, and to send up to the Cape, a certain boor who was known to have held communication with the rebels of Graaff Reynet; and strongly suspected of having assisted them with gunpowder. By escorting this person to the Landrost of the district, two fine young men of the 8th Light Dragoons unfortunately lost their lives. On their return towards the droefdy a violent thunder-storm arose, during which the rain descended in such torrents as to fill, to the brim, a small rivulet that we had passed the day before without observing a single drop of water in its channel. The Hottentot, who led the foremost pair of oxen in the team, finding himself unable to withstand the rapidity of the current, let go the rope and effected his escape as well as he could. The oxen, being thus left without a guide, turned their heads in the direction of the stream. The waggon was upset; two of the young men, who unfortunately could not swim, were seen no more; and Captain Smyth, with the rest, had a very narrow escape.

Accidents, of a similar kind, are not unfrequent in the colony. The beds of all the rivers are sunk, in a remarkable manner, to a

very great depth below the general surface of the country; so that whenever the heavy rains descend, the waters subside into these deep channels, which, on account of their narrowness, almost instantaneously become filled to the very brink. The impetuosity with which such torrents rush towards the sea is irresistible.

Whether the deep excavations, that form the beds of these rivers, may be satisfactorily explained by supposing the texture of the adjacent materials to have been of a loose and incoherent nature; or, whether a greater antiquity than to many parts of the globe may not be assigned to the continent of South Africa, on the whole surface of which there appears to be a remarkable similarity, is a question on the merits of which one would hesitate to give a prompt decision. But, on comparing the great quantity of rain that annually falls at the Cape, a quantity far exceeding that in most parts of Europe, with the general scarcity of springs, the invention is naturally exercised in endeavouring to account for a phenomenon so unusual. The following observations may perhaps assist in explaining it.

All the continued chains of mountains in Southern Africa are composed of sandstone resting upon a base of granite. This granite base is sometimes elevated considerably above the general surface of the country, and sometimes its upper part is sunk as far beneath it. In situations where the former happens to be the case, numerous springs are sure to be found, as in the instance of Table Mountain, where, on every side, copious streams of pure limpid water, filtered through the immense
mass

masses of superincumbent sandstone, glide over the impenetrable surface of granite, furnishing an ample supply to the whole town, the gardens, and the adjacent farms. But in all those places where the sandstone continues to descend below the surface, and the upper part of the granite base is sunk beneath the general level of the country, the springs that make their appearance are few and scanty.

The reasoning that suggests itself on these facts will lead to the following conclusion:—that the cisterns or cavities in the sandstone mountains, being corroded and fretted away, in the lapse of ages, to a greater depth than the openings or conduits which might, perhaps, at one time have given their waters vent, the springs can no longer find their way upon the surface, but, oozing imperceptibly between the granite and the sandstone, below the general level of the country, glide in subterraneous streams to the sea.

I am the more inclined to this opinion from the experience of several facts. When Admiral Sir Roger Curtis directed a space of ground, between the Admiralty-house and the shore of Table Bay, to be enclosed as a naval yard, the workmen met with great impediment from the copious springs of pure fresh water that rushed out of the holes, which they found necessary to sink in the sand, for receiving the upright posts. It is a well known fact, that on almost every part of the isthmus that connects the mountainous peninsula of the Cape to the continent, fresh water may be procured at the depth of ten or twelve feet below the sandy surface. Even in the side of the Tyger Hills,

Hills, at an elevation of twenty feet, at least, above the general surface of the isthmus, when the workmen were driving a level in search of coal, a copious stream of water was collected within it, in the month of February, which is the very dryest season of the year. And on boring, for the same purpose, on Wynberg, they came to a rill of water at the depth of twenty feet below the surface.

I have already noticed, in my journey to the Namaaqua country, that clear subterraneous streams were every where to be found, in that district, under the sandy beds of the rivers. Water in abundance has always been found by digging wells in Cape Town. Indeed it would be an absurdity to suppose that, in a country where mountains abound, and those mountains for more than two-thirds of the year hid in dense clouds, there could be any scarcity of water. Peculiar circumstances, relating to situation or surface, may conceal that water, but it will always be discovered at or near the sea-coast.

When the late Admiral Sir Hugh Christian ordered a well to be sunk at Saldanha Bay, by directing his attention rather to the convenience of conveying the water to the shipping, than to the certainty of obtaining it, he was led into an error in fixing upon the spot for the experiment, which was so high above the level of the bay, and where the ground was one solid mass of compact granite, that, after boring and blowing up with gunpowder, for several months with little or no prospect of success, the operation was obliged to be abandoned. On the opposite side of the bay, where the shore is little elevated above the

the high water mark, several springs have spontaneously burst out of the earth, but for want of being properly opened, so that the water may run off freely, they are suffered to stagnate, and become, as might be expected from the soil and climate, a little brackish. All circumstances here are fully as favourable as at Madras, where the purest and best water is found close to the sea shore.

These considerations are so obvious, that I should have thought it unnecessary to have dwelt a moment upon the subject, were I not persuaded that a very general opinion prevailed with regard to the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of supplying the several bays of the colony with fresh water. I shall only suggest, as another conclusion that may be drawn from what has been said, that the great depth of the commencement of the granite base below the surface may, perhaps, better account for the most considerable rivers of Northern Africa losing themselves in the sand, before they reach the sea, than by supposing the interior parts of this continent to be lower than the level of the ocean; a conjecture that has been held, but which strongly militates against the general order observed throughout the universe.

I have already expressed my doubts with regard to the Cape peninsula having originally been separated from the continent of Africa, according to the general opinion of writers, who, drawing their conclusions from a supposed retreat of the sea to prevail universally, have not given themselves the trouble to examine any further grounds for such a conjecture. The more I have

have attended to the isthmus that now unites them, the more I am persuaded that, instead of its having, in latter ages, been covered with the sea, the time is yet to come when that event will take place. I have already observed, that the surface is from twenty to thirty feet above the level of high water mark; that the sand upon it, except where it is drifted into ridges, is seldom three feet deep, and it rests upon sandstone or hard gravel. I can now add, that ridges of blue schistus and granite rocks appear on various parts of the surface so elevated. Admitting that the sandstone and the gravel, which is scarcely possible, were the fragments of the mountains by which this plain is enclosed on two sides, yet neither the schistus nor the granite could have been adventitious; these two materials must have been primeval, and they abound on the most elevated as well as on the lower parts of the isthmus; in situations that cannot be less than one hundred feet above the level of the sea. But if the sea has retreated one hundred feet, in its perpendicular height, the whole continent of Africa must have been an island at the time that the Cape promontory was an island. What changes may have taken place with regard to the canals and the inland parts of the isthmus of Suez in the course of two or three thousand years it is not necessary to inquire, but the isthmus of Suez, so long ago, was a flat sandy isthmus, not much higher, nor lower, in all probability, than at the present day.

I shall now offer my reasons for supposing the sea to be gaining upon the land in Southern Africa. The plain that skirts the Lion's Rump, and is washed by Table Bay and the sea, usually

called the *Green Point*, is lower, much lower, than the isthmus, and must consequently, at the same time, have also been covered with the sea. Now there is not one single appearance to denote that such has ever been the case. The Lion's Hill declines in a gentle and uninterrupted line into the plain, an appearance which would not have taken place had it ever been beaten by the billows of the ocean. This is further obvious by attending to the side of the plain next to the water, where (the loose materials being swept away by the violence of the surge) the rocky ridges of schistus and, in places, of granite, run like so many artificial piers, sometimes to the distance of a mile, into the sea. The whole shore of the peninsula is scolloped out in the same manner, demonstrating an encroachment, rather than a retreat, of the ocean. The two ridges also of the isthmus that bound the two bays, one to the northward and the other to the southward, are the highest parts of its surface, and seem to have served the purpose of stopping the progress, rather than marking the retreat, of the sea.

Indeed, from all the observations I have been able to make on the southern coast of Africa, I am decidedly of opinion, that the whole of L'Aguillas Bank, stretching from Cape Point across the entrance of False Bay to the mouth of Rio Infante or the Great Fish River, and to the thirty-seventh parallel of southern latitude, has at one time formed a part of the continent. The very manner in which it rounds from this extreme point of South Africa into the main land, the materials that compose it, the indentations of the coast, all formed in one direction, and the manner in which the fragile rocks break off

perpendicularly from time to time along that coast, are indications that sufficiently warrant this conclusion.

It may also be observed, with regard to the L'Aguillas Bank, that the stream of the current strikes strongest just along the outer margin, which I suppose to have formerly been the old coast of Africa, not only because the soundings along this margin are deeper than on any other part of the bank, but because the bottom is fine white sand, such as is usually found on the sea shores; and most of the interior parts of the bank, and especially where it approaches the projecting points of the coast, are composed of rock, and the coarse fragments of comminuted sandstone.

But the strong arguments advanced in favour of the Cape isthmus having, at no great period of time, been covered with the sea, rests on the sea-shells that have been discovered in the sand that is accumulated on its surface. Such shells may exist, though I never saw them except on the shores of the bays, but, as I have before observed, whole strata of these may be found buried in the sides of the Lion's Hill, many hundred feet above the level of the sea. These shells have not been brought into that situation by the waves of the ocean but by birds. There is scarcely a sheltered cavern in the sides of the mountains, that rise immediately from the sea, where *living* shell fish may not be found any day in the year. Crows even, and vultures, as well as aquatic birds, detach the shell-fish from the rocks, and mount with them in their beaks into the air; shells thus carried are said to be frequently found on the very summit even of the

the Table Mountain. In one cavern, as I have already observed, at the entrance of Mossel Bay, I disturbed some thousands of birds, and found as many thousands of living shell-fish scattered on the surface of a heap of shells that, for aught I know, would have filled as many thousand waggons. The presence of shells therefore, in my opinion, is no argument for the presence of the sea.

We should not, perhaps, be far amiss in assigning to Africa a prior creation to any of the other continents. Its vast antiquity appears in the very extraordinary manner in which the superior parts of the great chain of mountains are corroded and worn away; in the immensely deep chasms in which the rills of water trickle down to the sea; in the disappearance of the water supplied by the heavy rains; and, above all, in the complete decomposition of the felspar into a kind of semi-indurated clay or lithomarga; and, as I have seen in frequent instances, pyramidal crystals of quartz so loosely fixed by the base into masses of felspar as easily to be drawn out with the fingers, and when so drawn out, appearing corroded, and wasted in their transition to some other state.

I would not here be understood to suppose that the sea does not retreat from the shore; on the contrary, it is a well established fact, that in some parts of the world, and particularly in the creeks of the Baltic, the sea has subsided in a very remarkable manner. But this retreat is partial and owing to local circumstances. Had it been general, and in the same degree as has been observed on the shores of Bothnia, the isthmus of Suez

must have been overflown, and consequently Africa must have been an island, later than 2000 years ago, whereas there is every reason to suppose that, many ages before that period, the isthmus was pretty much in the same state in which it now is. The progressive retreat of the ocean cannot therefore be general. It is evident, at the same time, to use the language of the sacred historian, "That all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven, were covered;" mountains that are now several thousand feet above its level, and as many thousand miles removed from its shores, bear the most unequivocal indications of this truth. But this effect may, perhaps with more plausibility, be ascribed to the operation of some sudden cause, some convulsion in the globe of the earth, or some check in its diurnal or annual motion, which produced an universal change upon its surface; and by which "the waters under the heaven were gathered together unto one place, and the dry land appeared." Whether this change happened at the first creation, or the earth was deluged at some subsequent period, an idea that the history of all the civilized nations on earth seem to glance at, we must be content to remain in ignorance; for man, with all his boasted philosophy, will never be able to solve the questions which the Hebrew poet has put into the mouth of the Almighty. "Who shut up the sea with doors, when it brake forth, as if it had issued out of the womb? When I made the cloud the garment thereof and thick darkness a swaddling band for it, and brake up for it my decreed place, and set bars and doors, and said, Hitherto shalt thou come but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed?"

Before

Before we crossed the mountains through the Attaquas kloof, I had occasion to visit Mossel Bay, which lies about 24 miles to the southward of it. The uncertainty of procuring an annual supply of grain, sufficient for the consumption of the town and the garrison, on account of the frequent failure in the crops, had determined the government to renew the encouragement which the Dutch East India Company had found it prudent to hold out for the cultivation of corn in that part of the district of Zwellendam which was contiguous to Mossel Bay. The building they caused to be erected for depositing grain was capable of containing ten thousand bushels, and was said to be frequently filled; but the whole quantity I was able to procure in the neighbourhood, at an advanced price, including both wheat and barley, did not exceed fifteen hundred bushels.

The Dutch were in possession of a few charts of the coast and bays, within the limits of the settlement, but they were considered by Admiral Pringle so very incorrect, that he dispatched his Majesty's brig the Hope, having on board Lieutenant Rice, as I have already observed, with instructions to survey, and take the soundings of, all the bays to the eastward, but particularly of Mossel Bay, Plettenberg's Bay, and Algoa Bay. From this survey the annexed chart of Mossel Bay was copied, as also the following observations:

The outermost point of the bay, called Cape Saint Blaize, lies in latitude $34^{\circ} 10'$ south; longitude $22^{\circ} 18'$ east (I make it in the general chart which I constructed $22^{\circ} 45'$ east). The variation of the compass in 1797 was $27^{\circ} 54'$ west. The time of high

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high water at full and change about 3 o'clock, and the rise and fall of the tides six or seven feet. During the summer months, when the winds blow between east and south, or directly into the bay, a heavy swell breaks upon the beach, which makes it dangerous, and frequently impracticable, for boats to land; but these winds are never so violent, nor so lasting, as at the Cape; and ships may ride at anchor in perfect security about three quarters of a mile from the landing place. The south-west winds, that frequently blow with great violence from April to September, bring into the bay a most tremendous sea, setting round Cape Saint Blaize. At this season of the year it would be highly imprudent for ships to enter Mossel Bay.

A rill of water glides over the sandy beach, where there is the best landing, and is easily conveyed into casks in the boats, by means of a hose. To the south-east of this landing place is another small cove tolerably sheltered, and deep enough to admit vessels of ten or twelve feet draught of water. At either of these coves piers for landing and shipping goods might conveniently be constructed, and at a small expence, as materials may be procured upon the spot. Boats, however, may land at every part of the bay; and the adjacent country would easily afford supplies for about five hundred men.

The mouths of the rivers that fall into the bay are generally blocked up with sand. They abound with various kinds of fish, and on the rocky parts of the coast are plenty of muscles and excellent oysters.

We

We crossed the mountains, over the Attaquas Pass, on the 18th of March, and entered the *Lange Kloof* or Long Valley; very properly so called, being a slip of level ground, from a mile to two miles in width, and about one hundred and fifty miles in length, hemmed in between two high ridges of mountains. Here we met with, at almost every farm, an excellent vineyard of the Muscatel and Persian grape, both at this time fully ripe; we observed also extensive plantations of tobacco, and a variety of fruit trees. The oranges were large and remarkably good. Notwithstanding the great plenty, and the good quality of the grapes, the inhabitants made little wine, and that little was execrably bad. The distance, indeed, from a market, and the badness of the roads, hold out little encouragement to the farmer, either for extending the quantity or improving the quality of this article. Raisins, being a more transportable commodity, are more the object of their attention than wine. The making of these requires a very simple process. The bunch of grapes is first immersed in a strong solution of wood ashes, and afterwards laid upon a stage covered with rush matting, until it be thoroughly dried. The bruised grapes, the undergrowings, the stalks and expressed husks, with the lees or dregs of new wine, are thrown together into large vessels until they ferment, and are then distilled into a sort of brandy. From trash like this is most of the ardent spirit manufactured which is sold in the Cape under the name of *Brandewyn*, and which, from its cheapness and bad quality, not only poisons the bodies, but also corrupts the morals of the lower orders of the town, and the country farmers.

I have

I have already had occasion to notice the injudicious and slovenly manner that is generally practised at the Cape in the making of wine, and in the management of the vineyard. I can now venture to speak positively as to the fact, that wine of a quality equal, if not superior, to the Rhenish, may be produced in the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Pringle, his Majesty's Commissary-General, and agent for the Honourable East India Company, purchased a small farm on which was a vineyard that, for many years, had been totally neglected. By way of making the experiment, he caused it to be dressed and properly pruned, and, depending upon the directions laid down in the *Encyclopedie des Connaissances Humaines*, and Valmont de Bomare's Dictionary, rather than upon the knowledge of the Cape boors, he succeeded, much beyond his most sanguine expectations, in obtaining a clear pleasant wine, free from any extraneous taste, and approaching so near to Hock, that very good judges might have mistaken the one for the other. The chief precautions taken by him were, to separate the ripe from the unripe fruit, the sound from the decayed, and to remove them from the stalk, which none of the wine farmers of the Cape take the pains to do: he kept the must in open vessels, until it had undergone the last degree of vinous fermentation, and then drew it off into close vessels, where it remained without molestation for twelve months. In like manner, there can be no doubt, the different wines of Europe might all be made here by proper treatment; for, I again repeat what I have before observed, that in no part of the world are better grapes produced than at the Cape. Vines grow here on any soil, and require but very little attention. Many thousand acres of ground,

ground, now totally neglected, might be planted with vineyards within sight of the Table Mountain.

Our march along the *Lange Kloof* was delightfully pleasant. The road was extremely good, the country cheerful, being mostly covered with grass or shrubby plants, exhibiting from a distance a continuance of verdant lawns, which are not frequent in this colony, by much the greater portion of the surface being either extensive wastes of karroo almost without a vestige of vegetation, or naked ranges of mountains. Here too there was a sufficiency of water to admit of farm-houses being placed at the regulated distance of three miles. The sloping sides of the valley were covered with a great variety of splendid heaths, in the height of their blossom, of the shrub called *gnidia*, of the showy and everlasting *Xeranthemum*, and a profusion of other plants that the eye of a botanist would have feasted upon with avidity. But the nature of our expedition would only admit of a glance in passing.

Having proceeded along the Kloof to that part which is nearly opposite to Plettenberg's Bay, we found it necessary to halt a few days in order to refresh the horses. In the mean time I crossed the mountains, agreeably to my instructions, and assembled the wood-cutters in the vicinity of the bay, to enter into a contract with them for a supply of timber for the public service at the Cape. Independent of the wants of the government, it was considered adviseable, at this juncture, to furnish these people with employment, in order to keep them at home; for such is the nature of an African boor, that, having nothing par-

ticular to engage his attention, he is glad of an excuse to ride to the distance of eight or ten days, whether it be to a church or to a vendue, to hunt elephants or to plunder the Kaffers.

In justice, however, to the farmers of the Plettenberg Bay district, they are the only class of people, in the whole colony, that deserve the name of being industrious. To fell the large trees, that are now only to be procured in deep glens, and then to drag them out, is a work of labour and toil; and their profits are so trifling, that few of them are enabled to purchase slaves, and of course are reduced to the necessity of working themselves.

The vast forest, commencing opposite Mossel Bay, and running along the feet of the mountains, on the south side, almost to Algoa Bay, naturally excites an inquiry into the causes that have promoted the growth of trees in this particular spot, when all the rest of the country, in comparison to this tract of land, may be considered as a barren desert. The same cause, by which I endeavoured to account for the abundance, and for the scarcity of springs, namely, the situation of the granitic base of the mountains, will perhaps explain also the growth of these forests. At the distance of every two or three miles, a current of water bursts out of this chain of mountains, whose banks are covered with trees, in some places down to the sea-shore. In like manner, the foot of the Table Mountain at the Cape was skirted with a forest, of which, at present, not a vestige remains, on the side next the town; but, in the deep glens behind the mountain, and on the side next to the isthmus, there are still extensive

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five thickets, among which the greatest number of the trees, peculiar to Southern Africa, are to be found, and some of them of a very considerable size.

The circumstance of there being plenty of timber at Plettenberg's Bay, and abundance of unoccupied land of a good soil, well watered, and fit for any cultivation, had induced a wealthy merchant of Holland, on the restoration of the colony to its ancient possessors, to obtain permission for carrying into effect a plan that would, no doubt, have proved highly beneficial to the settlement at large in a variety of ways. He had obtained a grant from the government of the whole district of Plettenberg's Bay, on condition of paying a certain annual rent. This district he meant to divide into one hundred parcels, upon which were to be placed one hundred industrious families from Europe, Dutch or German, to be sent over with stock, utensils, implements of husbandry, and every other article that was requisite to carry on the useful trades, and to till the ground. None of them was to be allowed a single slave; but it was recommended to encourage the Hottentots to every kind of useful labour. The war, however, I imagine, has, for the present, suspended the execution of this laudable plan, which, there is every reason to suppose, would have succeeded to the height of the wishes of him who projected it.

The observations with regard to the winds, and the swell of the sea setting into Plettenberg's Bay, will equally apply to this and to Mossel Bay, the position of both being similar. It scarcely seems capable, by any expence, of being rendered secure even for small

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craft, in the winter months; but, in the summer season, ships may remain without any danger. There is, however, an arm of the sea, at the distance of about 18 miles to the westward of Plettenberg's Bay, which may one day become an important station. It is called the Knysna. In a former visit to this country, I observed that the tide set into it through a narrow passage or portal, as into a dock: that this passage, though narrow, and not quite clear of rocks, would admit of small vessels. Since that time, Mr. Calandar, a gentleman formerly belonging to the navy, has made a particular survey of this arm of the sea, of which the annexed is a plan. He observes that the depth of water, and great extent, of the Knysna, running into the very centre of fine forests, render it a most eligible place for building and repairing ships. That vessels of five hundred tons and upwards, deeply laden, may pass the portal; and that much larger might be built therein and sent out light, to be completed in Plettenberg's Bay. That the forests contain several different kinds of durable and well grown timber, fit for that valuable purpose, as well as abundance of masts and yards. The native fir, called geel hout (*Ilex crocea*), grows to upwards of sixty feet in length, and to five, six, and even eight feet in diameter; which is also the case with the native oak, bearing an acorn exactly like that of Europe, but called here, on account of a strong and disagreeable smell which it emits when green, the stinkwood tree (*Quercus Africana*). That the smell, however, is attended with the peculiar advantage of preventing the worm from attacking it.

The

The extent of the forests, beginning at Mossel Bay, and running eastward parallel to the sea-coast, is at least two hundred and fifty English miles, and the breadth from the feet of the mountains to the sea is ten, fifteen, and in some places twenty, miles. A great part of this tract is composed of large and beautiful plains, intersected by numerous rivers, and abounding in lakes full of excellent fish. The ground is well calculated either for pasturage or tillage, and capable of complete irrigation; but, adds this gentleman, the farmers here, as well as in all other parts of the colony, are lazy beyond description; the grounds, held by each, being sufficient for a great number of industrious families. He concludes his remarks by an opinion, that the slip of land, situated between the first chain of mountains and the sea coast, and from Zwellendam to Algoa Bay, if well stocked with inhabitants, so that each would be under the necessity of labouring for a subsistence, would not only be able to furnish a supply of grain for the whole colony, but would afford also a surplus for exportation.

Although I cannot exactly subscribe to this opinion, yet I am firmly persuaded that, with the addition of the tract of country between the north range of mountains and the west coast, and from Saint Helena Bay to the Cape, the whole mass of people within the present limits of the colony might be more comfortably subsisted than they now are, and an abundance of corn and cattle, wine, and other necessaries, over and above, for a garrison of five thousand men, and for a fleet containing an equal number of souls. But in order to make the country produce this supply,

supply, it would be necessary to procure a new race of inhabitants, or to change the nature of the old ones.

It is no easy matter to convey, by any description, an adequate idea of the condition of the peasantry of the Cape of Good Hope; so inconceivably different is it from that of the same class in Europe, or indeed in any other part of the world. The farmers in the back-settlements of North America are enabled, by hard labour, to raise a superfluity of provisions beyond their own consumption, chiefly, however, in the article of grain; of animal food they have no redundancy. The peasantry of Europe labour six days in the week, the greater part of whom can barely earn a scanty subsistence for themselves and their families. But a boor of the Cape neither knows the corroding pain of an empty stomach, nor hears his children cry for a morsel of bread,—of meat I ought to say, for bread they rarely taste. A traveller, on entering their miserable hovels, needs never despair of finding their tenants unprovided. Salted beef, or flesh of the larger kinds of game, he will generally find hanging in the chimney, and it is an equal chance that the whole or greater part of a slaughtered sheep should be suspended from the roof. A Cape boor never works. Every day throughout the whole year is to him a holiday. The greatest exertion he ever makes, and which has pleasure for its object as well as profit, is the killing of game. Nor is the exercise he takes on such occasions to be measured by the activity, energy, or the fatigue that an European sportsman must sometimes undergo. A Dutch boor, in the first instance, never traverses

traverses the heath on foot, but generally fires from the saddle. He considers the labour even of carrying his musquet to be too fatiguing, and, therefore, has a Hottentot boy trained to ride or to run after him as his armour-bearer, an office not likely in this country ever to be productive of rank or emolument.

Such, however, are the mistaken notions imbibed by listening to persons who are either really ignorant, or interested to mislead, that the peasantry of the Cape have been represented as a poor and distressed people, overwhelmed with debt, burdened with taxes, and oppressed by the government in a variety of ways. How far such statements are founded in truth, will best be shewn in our statistical sketch of the settlement. In the mean time I shall just observe, as a position to be proved hereafter, that the peasantry of the Cape are better fed, more indolent, more ignorant, and more brutal, than any set of men, bearing the reputation of being civilized, upon the face of the whole earth.

I have frequently had occasion to notice the abundance of iron ore in almost every part of Southern Africa, some of which was so rich in metal as to contain from seventy to eighty per cent., but that the total want of fuel rendered it useless. Here, however, in the vicinity of the forests, that objection is removed; and the ores might, in all probability, be melted to advantage, as all kinds of iron work are prodigiously dear at the Cape. We were told that, in the neighbourhood of the Knyfna, another large mass of native iron had been discovered, similar

similar to that which I mentioned to have seen in the plains of the Zuure Veldt, and which I then supposed the Kaffers to have carried thither from the sea shore. I paid little attention to the report at that time; but since my return to the Cape, the discovery of a third mass, in an extraordinary situation, the very summit of Table Mountain, excited a stronger degree of curiosity. I imagined the first to have been the flat part of an anchor, although it was destitute of any particular shape, but in this of Table Mountain, which may weigh from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty pounds, there appeared some faint traces of the shape of the flook, or the broad part of the arm which takes hold of the ground. It was found half buried in sand and quartz pebbles, every part, as well under as above ground, much corroded, and the cavities filled with pebbles, which, however, did not appear to be component parts of the mass, not being angular, but evidently rounded by attrition. As, in the first instance, I suppose the Kaffers to have carried the mass into the situation where it was discovered; so also, with regard to the latter, I am inclined to think it must have been brought upon the summit of the mountain by the native Hottentots, as to a place of safety, when Bartholomew Diaz, or some of the early Portuguese navigators, landed first in this country. Others, however, who have seen and examined the mass are of opinion, that it must have been placed in its present situation at a period long antecedent to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Europeans. Be that as it may, the resemblance it bears to part of an anchor, with the Neptunian appearances of various parts of Southern Africa, which are particularly striking in the formation of the Table Mountain,

press strongly on the recollection the beautiful observation of the Latin poet.

“ Vidi ego, quodd fuerat quondam solidissima tellus
 “ Esse fretum. Vidi factas ex æquore terras,
 “ Et procul a pelago conchæ jacuere marinæ
 “ Et vetus inventa est in montibus anchora summis.”

“ The face of places, and their forms, decay ;
 “ And that is solid earth that once was sea :
 “ Seas in their turn, retreating from the shore,
 “ Make solid land what ocean was before ;
 “ Far from the shore are shells of fishes found,
 “ And rusty anchors fix'd on mountain-ground.”

It may be observed, by the way, that Mr. Dryden has reversed the idea of the poet in the first couplet of his translation, and continued the same in his second, making only the land to gain on the sea, instead of contrasting it with the opposite effect of the sea encroaching on the land. Observing this to a son of my ingenious and learned friend Doctor Tytler, a boy of twelve years of age, he requested to have the Latin lines, and immediately produced the following stanzas :

“ Turn'd into sea I've seen the earth
 “ Dissolved in the wave,
 “ And from the sea new hills spring forth,
 “ And their broad backs upheave.

“ And far from ocean's utmost bounds,
 “ Shells have discovered been,
 “ And on the tops of rising grounds
 “ Old rusty anchors seen.”

In my last journey up the mountain I observed, also, about midway, several arborizations on stones, those of the fern tribe very distinct; and in the same stratum, which is strongly coloured with iron, I discovered several large masses of pyramidal crystals of quartz, and fine specimens of hæmatite or blood-stone.

In our return over the mountains from Plettenberg's Bay little occurred to attract attention. The *Sparmannia* in the woods, with its large leaves of light green, contrasted with the dark and slender foliage of the yellow wood tree, and the still darker *Eckbergia*, with the lofty summits of the naked mountains rising far above them, afforded scenery for the pencil extremely picturesque and beautiful. The fibres of the bark of the *Sparmannia* make an excellent kind of hemp, superior in strength to that of the *Hibiscus*, which I mentioned to have found on a former visit to this bay. Saplings of this tree the second year rise in a clear stem to the height of six feet, so that in the event of any future establishment being made at Plettenberg's Bay, the *Sparmannia* may become a very useful plant. The *Gardenia Thunbergia*, or the wild Cape Jessamine, being in the height of its blossom, gave out so powerful a scent, that, in the evening, it could be felt at the distance of several miles. The *Nymphæa cerulea*, and another species of a smaller size with spear-shaped leaves (*foliis hastatis*), and rose-coloured petals, ornamented the margins of the *Keurboom* River; and the *Wachendorfia* with the *Aletris Uvaria* were common in all the boggy grounds. The stately white *Strelitzias*, which are found only on the banks of the *Pisang* River, were also now in flower.

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The *Protea Grandifloræ*, on the summit of the mountains, resembled, in their size and appearance, old stunted oaks. Heath also were very large, and bulbous rooted plants in great abundance. We found, likewise, growing among the rocks, numbers of that singular plant the *Tamus Elephantipes*, so called from the resemblance of its large tuberous root, rising above the surface of the ground, to the foot of the elephant:—but I am deviating too far from the title I have prefixed to this Chapter, in making observations on natural history, which, indeed, the nature of the expedition was not well calculated to promote. I might, however, with more propriety, perhaps, have called it a Miscellaneous Chapter, as it is not meant to be confined to one object.

The district of Plettenberg's Bay is in fact a rich field for the naturalist. Let his favourite pursuit be what it may, botany, ornithology, or zoology, he may here indulge his inclination. The greatest part of the forest trees still remain unexamined. The birds are numerous, and have *seriously* been attacked by no other collector than Mr. Le Vaillant, of whom Mr. Meeding, for many years the postholder at the bay, speaks as being an excellent shot at small birds, and a most indefatigable pursuer of them. Of animals, from the little tailless *das* or Cavy, and the pigmy Antelope, to the huge Elephant, the woods of Sitfikamma furnish great variety. The *Plain* of *Hartebeests* abounds with that noble species of the antelope tribe from which it takes its name; and every thicket is filled with the beautiful *Bosbok*, or Bush deer, remarkable for its spotted haunches, and still more

so from the near resemblance of its cry to the barking of a dog.

On reaching our quarters in Lange Kloof we were agreeably surprized to find that the shoes of all our horses had been removed, and new ones placed on such as wanted them. This had been a matter of serious consideration from the first day of our expedition; for, as the horses of the colony are never shod, except those in the hands of the English, we could hardly flatter ourselves that we should meet with any person in the interior of the country, capable of undertaking such an operation. A young man, however, born deaf and dumb, without ever having seen a horse-shoe before, made several new ones, and replaced others with as much care and neatness, as one that had been brought up to the business of a farrier. This ingenious young man, the only one I can safely say that I ever met with in the course of my travels in this country, supported, by his labour, a worthless drunken father, and a number of brothers and sisters.

Nothing of moment occurred until we reached the borders of the Camtoos River, which divides the district of Zwellendam from that of Graaf Reynet. Being passable only by waggons at one ford, we encamped there, as the most eligible situation for keeping open a communication between Brigadier General Vandeleur and the Cape. Scarcely, however, had we arrived when an express from the General directed us to proceed to Algoa Bay.

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The country between the Camtoos River and this bay is extremely rich and beautiful. Like a gentleman's park, or pleasure grounds, in England, the surface is diversified with thickets and knots of stately trees, planted, however, by the spontaneous and free hand of nature. The knolls are covered with thick grass, which, for want of cattle to eat it off, is suffered to rot upon the ground, or is partially burnt off towards the end of summer to make room for the young blades to shoot up with the earliest rains of winter. It is greatly to be lamented that so fine a country should be suffered to remain in total neglect. A few indolent boors grasp the whole district, which, when in the possession of the rightful owners, the Kaffers and the Hottentots, some thirty years ago, maintained many thousand families by the numbers of their cattle it was found capable of supporting. The small game, which here are plentiful, gramineous roots, the bulbs of the iris, of the wild garlick, and of the *Cyanella*, the filaments and anthers of whose stamens bear a remarkable resemblance to the fingers and nails of the human hand, together with the seeds of the *Strelitzia Reginae*, and a variety of wild berries, were the chief articles of subsistence of the Hottentot tribes, and milk was the principal food of the Kaffers.

Algoa Bay has little to recommend it as a resort for shipping. Like all the other Bays, upon the same coast, it is directly open to the south-east winds, which, however, are less dangerous, because less violent, than those which blow from west and south-west. The disturbances of Graaf Reynet have caused a number of ships to visit this bay from the Cape, but scarcely one that has been there has escaped accidents happening to their boats in

205 attempting to land. Almost a perpetual swell rolls upon the sandy beach. Being, however, so conveniently situated for an enemy to communicate with the rebellious boors of Graaf Reynet, and equally so with the Kaffers, General Dundas thought it advisable to station at the bay a few troops, and to erect a small block-house for their protection. It was, indeed, surprising that none of the enemies' cruisers from the Isle of France thought of attacking this vulnerable, and hitherto defenceless, spot, so distant from the Cape that much mischief might have been effected long before the government could have received information of it.

The French frigate *La Preneuse* was the only enemy's ship that ventured to look into this or any of the bays during the whole war; at which time the Rattlesnake sloop of war, and the Camel store ship, happened to be at anchor there. The French ship came in under Danish colours, and brought up in the dusk of the evening between two and three cables' length from the Rattlesnake, whose captain was on shore with a detachment of the crew, unable to get on board on account of the high surf running upon the beach; but Lieutenant (now Captain) Fothergill displayed, on this occasion, great judgment and bravery. Suspecting her to be an enemy, he fired a shot a-head, of which she took no notice; he then poured in a broadside, which was returned by the frigate. About midnight, the fire from the Camel being silenced, the frigate changed her position, bringing her broadside to bear directly upon the Rattlesnake. In this manner they engaged till three in the morning, when the frigate thought fit to slip her cable, and

and sheer off to sea. The Rattlesnake was much damaged in her rigging, received many shot between wind and water, had three men killed and several wounded. La Preneuse mounted 44 guns, and had on board upwards of three hundred men.

This affair decided General Dundas as to the expediency of erecting a small work for the defence of the landing-place, and a block-house surrounded with a pallisade for the protection of the men to be stationed there. These precautions were the more necessary as whalers and neutral ships sometimes look into Algoa Bay and purchase refreshments from the boors in exchange for gunpowder. The mischief that an enemy might effect by landing here and putting musquets and ammunition into the hands of the Kaffers, is not to be calculated; and these people for some years back have been stationed in vast numbers upon the banks of the Sunday River, which discharges itself into Algoa Bay opposite the islands of St. Croix, where it may be seen, by the chart, there is secure anchorage and convenient communication.

From the moment this bay became a military station, the face of the surrounding country began to put on a new appearance. The slip of ground, contiguous to the landing place, was converted into gardens; and the stupid boors stared with wonder, and were struck with astonishment, at the variety and quantity of vegetables they produced. These people, also, soon found the benefit of a ready market for the consumption of their produce. Many trifling articles, such as milk and eggs, from which they had never before derived the least advantage, were
now

now commuted into money. Their sheep and cattle were sold at higher rates than the butchers were accustomed to give them; and their butter, soap, and candles, which they were always under the necessity of carrying more than five hundred miles to market, fetched now, upon the spot, double the usual prices.

This change of circumstances, so favourable to the boors in the vicinity of the bay, was extended, likewise, in some degree, over the whole country by the moving of troops. The officers, constantly passing upon the road, soon prevailed upon the farmers to take money for their accommodations, which, under the Dutch government, they would have been afraid to do. Every petty clerk of the Secretary's office, an attorney or land-measurer, travelling in the country, assumed such airs of consequence, that the ignorant boor was glad to yield the whole house to his disposal, and all that it afforded. The officers of government were also empowered to demand gratuitous teams of oxen to convey them, like paupers, from house to house. If a farmer had only a single team, and it happened to be in the plough when one of these gentry passed, it would be necessary for him to break off work, and lend his oxen to transport the *groot heer*, the great gentleman, to the next neighbour's house. In this respect they must have felt a sensible difference in the conduct of the British officers. Near ten thousand pounds were circulated, in one year, by the troops in Graaf Reynet, among more than two hundred families, and chiefly for articles of provision and forage, many of which, before this period, brought them no returns.

A few

A few days before our arrival at Algoa Bay, General Vandeleur had subdued the rebellious boors in the manner I have already described in the beginning of this chapter, and had sent the ringleaders on board his Majesty's ship the Rattlesnake, to be conveyed to the Cape to take their trial there by their own laws, before their own court of justice. Desirable as it might have been to punish the leaders upon the spot by martial law, as an example to a rebellious people, the General resolved to try once more what lenient measures might effect, concluding that, in the event of their own countrymen finding them guilty, the colonists must at least acknowledge the justice of the decision; whereas in the other case, as it generally happens, the public are more ready to blame the severity of martial law than to acknowledge the criminality of those upon whom it is inflicted.

This trial for sedition and rebellion caused no small degree of speculation at the Cape; and the general opinion was, that either from inclination, or the fear of offending their countrymen, the judges would acquit the prisoners. Such conjectures were founded on the very illiberal and erroneous notion, that in no instance where a colonist and a foreigner were concerned had the latter obtained his cause before this court. Such an idea might probably have taken its rise from the constitution and the practice of the court. Two-thirds of its members were chosen out of the servants of the Dutch East India Company, and one-third only from the burghers of the town. The Company, as proprietors of the settlement, directed their servants to take the ascendancy and the lead in all colonial affairs;

but by way of reconciling, in some measure, the free burghers, which were not in their employ, a certain number of these were admitted into the civil courts and boards; but the opinions and propositions of the former were, in most matters, found to preponderate.

Neither one nor the other in the Court of Justice were professional men; nor were they supposed to possess a greater share of legal knowledge than the other citizens out of which they were chosen. As members, composing a Court of Judicature, they had no salaries under the Dutch government, and therefore were supposed not to reject presents from one or both of the parties who had suits before the Court. But although they had no special salaries, most of them either actually enjoyed other employments attended with profit, or were considered as entitled to succeed to them on vacancies, in recompence for their services as ministers of justice. And as the situation, though honourable and conferring a distinction of rank, was attended with a considerable share of trouble and some expence, and as their lucrative offices, on the surrender of the settlement to the English, in a great measure ceased, it seemed but reasonable that so important a duty should be compensated by an allowance from Government, which was accordingly made to them by Lord Macartney.

One part of their practice, however, in conformity with the custom of the United Provinces, was particularly repugnant to the feelings of Englishmen and to the principles of English jurisprudence. The proceedings of the Court were always carried

ried on, *foribus clausis*, with closed doors; no oral pleading admitted, no confronting the accused with the witnesses, the deposition of each being singly taken down before two commissioners, on oath, and afterwards read to the Court; all persons were excluded from entering the Court except the parties concerned. In all criminal causes the Fiscal, or Attorney-General, directed two commissioners of the Court to examine evidences, take depositions, hold inquests over bodies that had died suddenly by the visitation of God, accident, or violence; and to draw up, in every case, preparatory information for the trial. For this troublesome part of their duty they had no remuneration, unless when the delinquent should be condemned to labour for the service of government, in which case the expences of the trial were paid out of the produce of that labour.

Such is the outline of the constitution and practice of a court that foreigners have long been accustomed to mention with obloquy and detraction. In civil causes they might, perhaps, in some instances, have leaned a little to the side of their countrymen, if the case happened to be nearly upon a balance; but in all criminal cases they act with the greatest caution and circumspection. Two irreproachable and concurring witnesses are required to substantiate a fact against the delinquent; and *one* evidence of good character, produced on the part of a person accused of felony, is considered of equal weight with *two* produced against him: and even after sentence has been passed, until the moment of execution, the condemned is allowed to bring forward evidence in his favour. Nor can circumstantial evidence,

evidence, however strong, warrant the carrying of any sentence into execution, until a free confession be made of the crime. Such confession, it is true, was, under the Dutch government, sometimes extorted by the application of the torture; in which case, if the guilty had nerve enough, he was sure to escape, and if the innocent was feeble, he was equally sure of being hanged.

Even in civil causes, the presumption that they were generally right is in their favour; for since the establishment of an English Court of Appeal in the year 1797, to the evacuation of the colony, out of the number of cases brought before the said Court of appeal, only one sentence was reversed; and it appeared that the error committed, in this instance, by the Court of Justice was owing to their tenacity rather to the letter, than to the spirit of the law; and that by rigidly adhering to the *summum jus*, their decision was productive of the *summa injuria*. It was also supposed that, in the case alluded to, a very undue influence was employed to sway the Court; but as the affair is yet to come before a British court in England, I forbear to enter more at large into the subject. Neither are the members of the Court of Justice in the Cape so wanting in talent or in legal knowledge as might be supposed; at least, they proved to the world that they had sagacity enough to detect, and integrity and firmness enough to punish, the authors of a most nefarious and barefaced transaction, which those persons had contrived to carry through the Court of Vice-Admiralty with complete success, though the imposition was of the grossest nature.

The trial of the boors for sedition having engrossed so much of the public conversation, his Majesty's Fiscal, or Attorney-General to prosecute for the crown in all criminal cases, determined for once, though contrary to established usage, to carry on the whole proceedings with *open doors*. The prisoners were all found guilty, and three of them condemned to suffer death; but by the lenity of the British government which, in this colony was, on most occasions, carried to an extreme, the sentence was never put in execution. On the restoration of the colony the convicted boors were delivered into the hands of the new governors, who, on this occasion, could not do less than pronounce a general amnesty; in which case, they will, most probably, be allowed to return to their old connections, and to their old habits.

But to return to the affairs of Graaf Reynet. The general having thus got rid of the rebel chiefs, and thereby put an end, as he thought, to further disturbances, concluded that little now remained to be done, but to collect his scattered forces from the different parts of the district, and to assemble them at headquarters in Bruyntjes Hoogte; part of which he meant to embark on board the Rattlesnake, and the remainder to send over land, by easy marches, to the Cape.

In crossing the country from Algoa Bay to the northward, in order to put his plan in execution, to our no less surprize than mortification, we fell in with a large party of Hottentots, so disguised, and dressed out in such a whimsical and fantastical manner, that we were totally at a loss to conjecture what to
make

make of them. Some wore large three cornered hats, with green or blue breeches, the rest of the body naked; some had jackets of cloth over their sheep-skin covering, and others had sheep-skins thrown over linen shirts. The women were laden with bundles, and the men were all armed with musquets. We soon discovered, which indeed they readily confessed, that they had been plundering the boors. A Hottentot, among the many good qualities he possesses, has one which he is master of in an eminent degree,—I mean a rigid adherence to truth. When accused of a crime, of which he has been guilty, with native simplicity he always states the fact as it happened; but, at the same time, he has always a justification at hand for what he has done. From lying and stealing, the predominant and inseparable vices of the condition of slavery, the Hottentot may be considered as exempt. In the whole course of my travels, and in the midst of the numerous attendants of this nation, with which I was constantly surrounded, I can with safety declare that I never was robbed nor deceived by any of them.

On making inquiry into the particulars of the unpleasant transaction that had taken place, one of the Hottentots, called *Klaas Stuurman*, or *Nicholas the Helmsman*, whom they had selected for their chief, stepped forwards, and, after humbly entreating us to hear him out without interruption, began a long oration, which contained a history of their calamities and sufferings under the yoke of the boors; their injustice, in first depriving them of their country, and then forcing their offspring into a state of slavery; their cruel treatment on every flight occasion, which it became impossible for them to bear any longer; and

and the resolution they had therefore taken to apply for redress before the English troops should leave the country. That their employers, suspecting their intention, had endeavoured to prevent such application by confining some to the house, threatening to shoot others if they attempted to escape, or to punish their wives and children in their absence. And, in proof of what he advanced, he called out a young Hottentot, whose thigh had been pierced through with a large musquet ball but two days before, fired at him by his master for having attempted to leave his service. "This act," continued he, "among many
" others equally cruel, resolved us at once to collect a sufficient
" force to deprive the boors of their arms, in which we have
" succeeded at every house which has fallen in our way. We
" have taken their superfluous clothing in lieu of the wages
" due for our services, but we have stripped none, nor injured
" the persons of any, though," added he, shaking his head,
" we have yet a great deal of our blood to avenge."

Such a rencontre at this time was extremely embarrassing, and the more so as it appeared these were a very small part of their countrymen that were then actually arming themselves against the boors, and plundering their houses. They informed us, moreover, that some of their countrymen, not willing to throw themselves on the protection of strangers, had fled among the Kaffers; but that the greatest part were on the road to Algoa Bay, to lay their unhappy situation before the English general.

The connection that had long subsisted between the boors and the Hottentots, a connection that was kept up by violence and
oppression

oppression on one side, and by want of energy and patient suffering on the other, seemed now to be completely dissolved. The farther we advanced, the more seriously alarming was the state of the country. The boors, it seems, unable to restrain their savage temper, which the penalty levied upon them by the General had wrought up into a rage, with the assistance of a *sopie*, determined to wreak their vengeance on the poor Hottentots, according to their common practice, whenever infuriate passion seizes them. The representations made to us by this party were more than confirmed by our own observations in our progress through the country. Among the numerous instances of cruelty to which we bore witness, the following were particularly striking.

We had scarcely parted from these people when, stopping at a house to feed our horses, we by accident observed a young Hottentot woman with a child in her arms lying stretched on the ground in a most deplorable condition. She had been cut from head to foot with one of those infernal whips, made from the hide of a rhinoceros or sea-cow, known by the name of *sambocs*, in such a barbarous and unmerciful manner, that there was scarcely a spot on her whole body free from stripes; nor had the sides of the little infant, in clinging to its mother, escaped the strokes of the brutal monster. With difficulty we had her removed to a situation where medical assistance could be given; but the fever ran so high, and the body was bruised to such a degree, that for several days there were little hopes of her recovery. It was a punishment, far inadequate to the crime, to keep the inhuman wretch on bread and water who
had

had been guilty of such unmanly cruelty, until the fate of the sufferer was decided. Owing to a good constitution she gradually recovered; and the fellow was suffered to depart, after making her a pecuniary compensation; had the wounds proved mortal, the perpetrator would, no doubt, have afforded the first instance of retributive justice for the numberless instances of murder that have been committed with impunity on this unfortunate race of men. The only crime alleged against her was the attempt to follow her husband, who was among the number of those of his countrymen that had determined to throw themselves upon the protection of the English.

The next house we halted at upon the road presented us with a still more horrid instance of brutality. We observed a fine Hottentot boy, about eight years of age, sitting at the corner of the house, with a pair of iron rings clenched upon his legs, of the weight of ten or twelve pounds; and they had remained in one situation for such a length of time, that they appeared to be sunk into the leg, the muscle being tumefied both above and below the rings. The poor creature was so benumbed and oppressed with the weight, that, being unable to walk with ease, he crawled on the ground. It appeared, on inquiry, that they had been rivetted to his legs more than ten months ago. What was to be done in a case of such wanton and deliberate cruelty? It was scarcely in human nature to behold an innocent boy for ever maimed in so barbarous a manner; and at the same time to look upon the cold blooded perpetrator without feeling a sentiment of horror mingled with exasperation,—a sentiment that seemed to say it would serve the cause of humanity to rid



the world of such a monster. The fellow shrunk from the enquiries of the indignant general; he had nothing to allege against him but that he had always been a worthless boy; he had lost him so many sheep; he had slept when he ought to watch the cattle, and such like frivolous charges of a negative kind, the amount of which, if true, only proved that his own interest had sometimes been neglected by this child.

Determined to make an example of the author of such unparalleled brutality, the General ordered him instantly to yoke his oxen to his waggon, and, placing the boy by his side, to drive directly to head-quarters. Here he gave orders to the farrier of the 8th regiment of Light Dragoons to strike off the irons from the boy, an operation that required great nicety and attention, and to clench them as tight as he could on the legs of his master, who roared and bellowed in a most violent manner, to the inexpressible satisfaction of the by-standers, and, above all, to that of the little sufferer just relieved from torment. For the whole of the first night his lamentations were incessant; with a Stentorian voice a thousand times he vociferated, "*Myn God! is dat een maniere om Christian mensch te handelen!*" "*My God! is this a way to treat Christians!*" His, however, were not the agonies of bodily pain, but the bursts of rage and resentment on being put on a level with one, as they call them, of the *Zwarte Natie*, between whom and the *Christian Mensch* they conceive the difference to be fully as great as between themselves and their cattle, and whom, indeed, they most commonly honour with the appellation of *Zwarte Vee*, black cattle. Having roared for three days and as many nights, at first

first to the great amusement, but afterwards, to the no less annoyance, of the whole camp, he was suffered to go about his business on paying a heavy penalty in money for the use of the boy, whom he had abused in so shameful a manner.

Another instance occurred, since our departure from Algoa Bay, which strongly marked the little reluctance that is felt by the African boors in the shedding of human blood, even of *Christian Mensch*, for whom they affect so great a veneration. On leaving the bay it was discovered that three fine young lads of the 81st regiment had deserted with their arms; and as these deserters knew that the rest of the people were to march that morning towards the upper part of the country, *Van Roy*, from whose house we departed, concluding they might return, enquired of the General what he should do in case of such an event? The answer was, "Secure them, to be sure."—"But if they should resist?"—"You must take them at any rate; you and your sons and people about the house are more than sufficient to do that." The following day the man came galloping after us, pale and frightened, and ready to sink into the ground. He had shot the three deserters; he had been obliged to do it, as he said, in his own defence, and for the protection of his family, whom they intended to murder. "If you can make that appear to have been the case," the General told him, "you are justified in what you have done; but the fact is so extraordinary, that a very rigid inquiry will be made into it." It is wonderful how rapidly the fellow's countenance brightened up, on hearing there was some palliation in favour of what he had done. It was evident he felt

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neither remorse nor compunction in having destroyed three of his fellow-creatures, but was apprehensive only of what might have been the consequences to himself.

The General immediately rode back to his house. He found the dead bodies lying on the ground, just where they had fallen, one at the distance of ten or twelve yards from the door, the other two at forty or fifty. The first had evidently been shot through the breast, but both the others *through the back*. From these circumstances it was strongly conjectured that Van Roy and his sons had waited at the door, with their loaded musquets, the approach of these unfortunate men; that, on the first being shot, the other two had attempted to make their escape; in doing which they afforded the Dutchmen an opportunity of taking a cool and sure aim. The family, of course, told the same story as the master: What then remained to be done? Desertion had already begun, and threatened to become very general. It was, therefore, deemed advisable to let the matter rest; and to summon the troops in the neighbourhood to attend the funeral of the unfortunate men, whose fate might operate as a check to its further progress.

It would seem, by the end which this same Van Roy was doomed to make, that, as our immortal poet has finely expressed it,

“ ——— Even-handed justice

“ Returns th’ ingredients of our poison’d chalice

“ To our own lips.”

He,

He, in the subsequent wars between the boors and Hottentots, was shot through the head in his own house; which was afterwards burnt to the ground; his property plundered and destroyed, and his family reduced to extreme poverty.

The sanguinary character of many of the African colonists may be owing, perhaps, in a certain degree, to the circumstance of their having been soldiers in German regiments serving abroad; where the least relaxation from a rigid system of discipline is followed up by the greatest severity of punishment. The soldier, having served out the time of his engagement, which at most is five years, is at liberty to demand his discharge. If he is able to read and write, however indifferently, he usually finds employment, as schoolmaster, in a boor's family; if not qualified for such a situation, he either engages as a sort of servant, or hires himself to some butcher of the town, who sends him to the extremities of the colony to collect sheep and cattle. In all these situations he has the opportunity of making an intimate acquaintance with the boors, which generally leads to his marriage with one of their daughters. The parents of the girl spare him a few sheep and cattle to commence with, on condition of their receiving half the produce as interest, until he can repay the capital; he looks out for a *place*, as it is called, no matter where, whether within or without the limits of the colony, and builds for himself a hut; with his cattle are consigned to him, at the same time, and on the same terms, as he supposes, a few little Hottentot children to look after them; and on these little creatures, in the plenitude of his power, subject to no controul,

controul, he exercises the same severity of punishment that his own irregularities had incurred when he was in the ranks.

A very considerable portion of the inhabitants of the town is composed of people of this description. Grown into affluence by the general prosperity that followed the conquest of the settlement, serjeants, and corporals, and trumpeters, are now men of the first consequence, keep their slaves, and horses, and carriages, and wallow in all the luxuries that the colony affords. But though they aspire to the rank of gentlemen, they cannot disguise the cloven foot. They are gross in their manners, and vulgar in their conversation. Their language, in the presence of women, is so coarse and indecent, as would not be tolerated among civilized society. A single instance of this will be sufficient to shew to what a low degree of delicacy and refinement they are yet advanced. One of this vulgar herd, who is considered as a great man in the Cape, took his wife and daughters to see a whale, that had been thrown ashore near Green Point. It happened to be a female and was lying on its back. The burgher being struck with the near resemblance of certain parts to those of the human species, with great exultation, and in the most vulgar and indelicate terms, pointed out his discovery to the ladies, who seemed to relish all the good jokes the burgher said on this occasion; and, in presence of a number of spectators, the old dame actually assisted him in a very close, and by no means *superficial*, examination into this singular phenomenon in natural history, which, among other properties, analogous to animals that suckle their young, determined the great Linnæus to

to assign a place to the whale in the same class with human beings.

By indolent habits, excess of food, and fondness for indulging in sleep, they become no less gross in their persons, than vulgar in their manners. A young lady described the Cape and its inhabitants in very few words. *De menschen zyn moie dik en vet de buizen moei wit en groen.* "The people are all nice and plump; the houses are prettily whitewashed and painted green." I believe there is no country in the world that affords so large a proportion of unwieldy and bulky people; and I am certain there is none where the animal appetites are indulged with less restraint, the most predominant of which are eating and drinking, or where the powers of body or mind are capable of less exertion. "When the Devil catches a man idle he generally sets him to work," is a proverb which is every day exemplified at the Cape of Good Hope. They are active only in mischief; and crimes against morality meet with applause if the end be successful. A man, who in his dealings can cheat his neighbour, is considered as a *slim mensch*, a clever fellow; even stealing is not regarded as criminal, nor does it materially affect the character of the thief. Truth is not held as a moral virtue, and lying passes for ingenuity.

There is a great want of affection among near relations; it has been observed, indeed, that there are scarcely two brothers in the Cape who will speak to each other. The manner in which children are brought up, and in which the economy of a family is managed, is little favourable to social intercourse, or likely

likely to excite that harmony of sentiment and union of interests which, in more civilized countries, are cherished and grow to maturity by the genial warmth and cheerfulness and comfort of a family fire-side. Here the members of the same family seldom meet together. The husband, having slept the greatest part of the day, finds his bed irksome in the morning and rises with the dawn. He takes his solitary cup of coffee, or *sopie*, or both, and smokes his pipe; then lounges about the house in his *slaap mutz* and *nagt cabaay*, his night cap and gown, or parades the *sloop*, or raised platform before the door, in the same dress, with a long pipe stuck in his mouth. About nine o'clock he takes a solid breakfast, and a few glasses of wine, continues to lounge about the house till dinner-hour, which is punctually at twelve, or, if the weather be tempting, or any news stirring, he walks out to meet his comrades. Immediately after dinner he goes to bed, rises again at five or six, makes or receives visits, when he smokes tobacco and drinks wine till nine o'clock, which is the signal for every one to repair to his own house. Here a hot supper, consisting of eight, ten, or even twenty solid dishes of fish and butcher's meat, dressed in a variety of shapes, is ready to receive him, smoking on the table. This is the favourite meal, to which he considers all that he has eaten and drunken and smoked in the course of the day, as whets only to the appetite, and preparatives to the grand feast. Thus day after day,

"The lazy glutton safe at home will keep,

"Indulge his sloth, and fatten with his sleep."

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The good woman of the house rises about the same early hour with her husband; takes her coffee alone; scolds the slaves; sets them their daily task; dresses for a *vendutie* or public sale, of which there are never fewer than three or four in the town, or its vicinity, every day of the week; comes home to dinner at twelve, and then goes to bed; rises again with her husband, receives or pays visits with him; but here they separate; the men drink and smoke in one room; the women are left to themselves in another. The poor children scramble as well as they can among the slaves, to whom they are consigned, one in one room, and another in another; each, in the better sort of families, having its proper slave, called its *aya*, a Malay term, borrowed, perhaps, from the Portuguese or Italian, signifying nurse or protectress; and, by an inevitable consequence, the *aya* is looked up to through life with more affection than the natural parents.

Little as character is regarded, they are extremely tenacious of their rank. More quarrels have arisen about ladies taking precedence in the church, or placing their chairs nearest the pulpit, than on any other occasion. In the government of Lord Macartney a serious dispute arose on this subject, between the ladies of the Landrost or Chief Magistrate of the district, and of the Minister of the parish; and memorial was presented after memorial on both sides, stating their mutual claims and mutual grievances. His Lordship, feeling the delicacy of interposing his authority between two ladies of such high rank, recommended a compromise, suggesting, in case that should not go down, that he would be under the necessity of adopting the

decision of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, when on a somewhat similar occasion he settled a dispute of precedence between two women of fashion at Brussels; "Let the greatest sim-
pleton of the two have the *pas*;" which made the two ladies prodigiously civil to each other ever afterwards, both striving which should give, instead of take, the precedence. A Dutch nobleman, who is the only titled man in the colony, and who held in the old government one of the highest employments, felt no degradation in associating with butchers, nor in bestowing the hand of his daughter on an attorney who, for his mal-practices, had been publicly declared *infamous* by the Court of Justice; but he would have thought himself disgraced if his wife and daughter were deprived of their rank in the church.

There are, however, as must be the case in every society, a number of worthy people in the colony, to whom the above observations do not apply: men, whose talents and information, propriety of conduct, and strict integrity, would command respect in any part of the world; but the number of these is comparatively so small, as to make only an exception to the general character. I need scarcely observe, that these people met with that consideration and attention from the British government to which they were entitled; whilst those of the other class experienced the neglect and contempt they so justly deserved.—But to return to *Klaas Stuurman* and his party.

From the barbarous treatment of the boors towards the Hottentots in their service, of which we had ourselves been witnesses

nesses in many instances, it would have been an act of the greatest inhumanity to attempt to force these poor creatures back again upon their old masters; yet a very serious difficulty arose, how to dispose of them. Part of the troops, that composed the detachment under General Vandeleur, consisted of the strength of the Hottentot corps, otherwise called the Cape regiment. This body of men had been partly formed under the Dutch government, and, in fact, were the only serviceable troops that opposed the British forces in the pass of Muysenberg, where they acted with spirit, though unsupported. After the capitulation, General Sir James Craig found it expedient, for many reasons, to take them into the British service, and to increase their numbers. He considered in the first place, that, from their rooted antipathy to the boors, they could always be employed as useful agents to quell any disturbances that might arise in the distant districts. He saw, also, that they were capable of being formed into excellent soldiers. In short, after an experience of near two years, the character he gave them was that of an orderly, tractable, and faithful body of men; ready on all occasions to obey the orders of their officers with cheerfulness and alacrity. And they have since shewn themselves highly deserving of the favourable testimony of Sir James Craig. During three years' service in the distant district of Graaf Reynet, in the course of which time they were required, by an unfortunate and unavoidable train of events, to act against their own countrymen and comrades, they never shrunk from their duty, and, if I recollect right, one single man only deserted in the whole corps.

A Hottentot is capable of strong attachments ; with a readiness to acknowledge, he possesses the mind to feel, the force of a benevolent action. I never found that any little act of kindness or attention was thrown away upon a Hottentot ; but, on the contrary, I have frequently had occasion to remark the joy that sparkled on his countenance, whenever an opportunity occurred to enable him to discharge his debt of gratitude. I give full credit to all that Monsieur Le Vaillant has said with regard to the fidelity and attachment he experienced from this race of men ; of whom the natural character and disposition seem to approach nearer to those of the Hindûs than of any other nation.

Is it not then a most unaccountable circumstance, that the Dutch should have given the preference to a race of men, of talents much inferior, and whose temper, always capricious, becomes on slight provocations cruel and revengeful?—I mean the Malay slaves. The negroes of Mosambique and of Madagascar are harmless and stupid on their first arrival, but soon become cunning and dishonest by intercourse with their elder brethren. In full possession of all the vices that must infallibly result from the condition of slavery, there is yet no part of the world where the domestic slaves of every description are so well treated, and so much trusted, as at the Cape of Good Hope. They are better clothed, better fed, and infinitely more comfortable than any of the peasantry of Europe. Yet such are the bad effects, which the condition of slavery produces on the mind, that they are incapable of feeling the least spark of gratitude for good and gentle usage, whilst, under the severe hand of a rigid and cruel master, they become the best of slaves. It

is an axiom or self-evident truth, that such are and always will be the consequences of degrading man to the lowest of all conditions, that of being made the property of man.

The Dutch use little prudence or precaution with regard to their domestic slaves : in the same room where these are assembled to wait behind their master's chairs, they discuss their crude opinions of liberty and equality without any reserve ; yet they pretend to say that, just before the English got possession of the Cape, and when it was generally thought the French would be before-hand with us, the slaves who carried the sedan chairs, of which no lady is without one, used very familiarly to tell their mistresses, " We carry you now, but by-and-by it will " be your turn to carry us." The proportion of slaves to whites, of both sexes and all ages, in the town, is not more than two to one ; but that of slave men to white men is near five to one.

The field slaves belonging to the farmers are not, however, nearly so well treated as those of the town ; yet infinitely better than the Hottentots who are in their employ. The farmer, indeed, having a life-interest in the one, and only five-and-twenty years in the other, is a circumstance that may explain the difference of treatment. The one, also, is convertible property, an advantage to which they have not yet succeeded in their attempts to turn the other. The country slaves, notwithstanding, are ill fed, ill clothed, work extremely hard, and are frequently punished with the greatest severity ; sometimes with death, when rage gets the better of prudence and compassion.

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In a country where *Christians* only are considered as human beings, and where strong prejudices prevail, the negro has little chance of obtaining justice. It has been observed, with too much truth, that if a black should only strike a white, he runs the chance of being tortured and torn in pieces, on presumptive proof that his intention was to murder; but if a white man murders a black belonging to himself, he puts him into the ground, and nothing more is said about it;—if he murders that of another, he has only to pay the owner his full value; unless, indeed, the owner should be inexorable and bring the criminal before the Court of Justice, a case which I believe has not yet happened. Such is the distribution of justice between a man compelled to be a slave, and one born to be free!

We had little doubt that the greatest number of the Hottentot men, who were assembled at the bay, after receiving favourable accounts from their comrades of the treatment they experienced in the British service, would enter as volunteers into this corps; but what was to be done with the old people, the women, and the children? Klaas Stuurman found no difficulty in making a provision for them. “Restore,” says he, “the country of which our fathers have been despoiled by the Dutch, and we have nothing more to ask.” I endeavoured to convince him how little advantage they were likely to derive from the possession of a country, without any other property, or the means of deriving a subsistence from it: but he had the better of the argument. “We lived very contentedly,” said he, “before these Dutch plunderers molested us; and why should we not do so again, if left to ourselves? Has not the *Groot* Baas

“*Baas* (the Great Master) given plenty of grafs-roots, and berries, and grasshoppers for our use; and, till the Dutch destroyed them, abundance of wild animals to hunt? And will they not return and multiply when these destroyers are gone?” We prevailed, however, upon *Klaas* to deliver up their arms, and, in the mean time, to follow the troops until some arrangement could be made for their future welfare.

Proceeding on our march, along the banks of the Sunday River, and among the vast thickets that almost entirely covered this part of the country, we fell in with a prodigious number of Kaffers with their cattle, belonging, as they told us, to a powerful chief named *Congo*. This man was at the head of all the other emigrant chiefs who had fled from the Kaffer country, eastward of the Great Fish River, on account of some enmity subsisting between them and their King *Gaika*, with whom I had, in vain, attempted, in company of the Landroft, to bring about a reconciliation two years before. As the position he now occupied not only encroached very much upon the territorial rights of the colony, but was also far within the line actually inhabited by the Dutch boors, we deemed it expedient to endeavour to prevail upon him to move towards the eastward; and for this purpose, we sent a messenger to request that he would give us the meeting. The answer brought back signified, that he did not care to come alone, and that he desired to know, if we had any objections to receive him at the head of a certain number of his people. The messenger being told he might bring with him any number of his attendants not exceeding thirty, he shortly made

made his appearance at the head of a party to that amount, each armed with a hassagay or spear.

On being told how necessary it was, for the sake of preserving tranquillity, that he should quit his present station among the boors, he replied, with great firmness, that the ground he then stood upon was his own by inheritance, for that his father had been cheated out of it by a Dutch Landroft of Graaf Reynet; that, however, being desirous of remaining in friendship with the English, he would remove eastward in the course of three days; but that it was impossible for him to cross the Great Fish River, as there was a deadly hatred, or, as he expressed it, *there was blood between Gaika and himself*; and that Gaika was then much too powerful for him.

The decided tone in which he spoke, at the head of his small party, when surrounded by British troops; his prepossessing countenance, and tall muscular figure, could not fail to excite a strong interest in his favour. An open and manly deportment, free from suspicion, fear, or embarrassment, seems to characterize the Kaffer chiefs. Though extremely good-humoured, benevolent, and hospitable, they are neither so pliant nor so passive as the Hottentot. The poorer sort are sometimes led to seek for service among the boors, and engage themselves for so many moons in consideration of so many head of cattle; and they never suffer themselves to be duped out of their hire like the easy Hottentots. The conversation with Congo ended by recommending him to withdraw his people and their cattle from
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the banks of the Sunday River, to which he gave a kind of reluctant assent.

The whole of the party that accompanied this chief were tall, upright, and well made men; affording a clear proof that animal food is by no means necessary to promote the growth of the human species; or to add strength of fibre to the muscular parts of the body; on the contrary, reasoning from the general make and stature of the Dutch boors, who gorge themselves with animal food floating in fat, from morning till night, one would be apt to conclude, that so far from being necessary, it is not even conducive to strength of muscle; but that its only tendency was to produce a laxity of the fibres, a sluggish habit of body, and extreme corpulency; for the Dutch boors, though of a monstrous size, possess neither strength nor activity. Perhaps, indeed, these two qualities may be considered as correlatives, and that the defect of the former may be more owing to a want of the latter than to the nature of their food. Those, perhaps, who have been accustomed to observe the peasantry on the north-west coast of Ireland, a tall, strong, and brawny race of men, subsisting on butter-milk and potatoes, will think it unnecessary to produce the Kaffers as instances of the above remark; it may serve, however, to shew that difference of climate has no power to alter the general principle, and that the same cause produces the same effect in the northern parts of Europe and in the southern corner of Africa.

Milk in a curdled state is the principal food of the Kaffers. To this they sometimes add a few gramineous roots, berries of

various kinds, the seeds of the *Strelitzia Reginae*, and the pith of a large palm to which botanists have given the name of *Zamia*. I observed also large tuberous roots, each the size of a man's head, of a spongy substance and an austere pungent taste, but I was not able to trace the plant of which they were the roots. They rarely kill any of their cattle unless on particular occasions. They possess no other domestic animals to yield them food. In the whole Kaffer country there is neither sheep nor goats, pigs nor poultry. They cultivate no kind of grain nor vegetables on this side of the Great Fish River, and very little on the other side; but the Kaffer tribes, more to the westward, are very considerable horticulturists. The commissioners, sent out by the British government in the year 1801, to endeavour to procure a supply of draught oxen, found extensive fields of a species of *Holcus* near the city *Leetakoo*, the capital of a tribe of Kaffers called *Booshoobanas*, situate at the distance of sixteen days' journey beyond the Orange River, in the direction of north-east from the Cape.

In the official report of the commissioners, delivered to General Dundas, their entrance into this city is thus described:—
 “Passing through several large tracts of ground, that were laid
 “out and cultivated like so many gardens, we arrived about
 “noon at the city of *Leetakoo*, not a little astonished to find, in
 “this part of the world, a large and populous city. We pro-
 “ceeded to the residence of the chief, whose name was *Moo-*
 “*liaban*, where we found him, with the elders of the place,
 “seated on a plain that was enclosed with wood.... he offered
 “us some curdled milk. After the reception he conducted us
 “to

“ to his habitation, and introduced us to his wives and chil-
“ dren; here also we saw numbers of women, who gazed at
“ us with astonishment. His house, like all the rest in the
“ town, was built in a circular form, being about sixteen feet
“ in diameter. The bottom part, to the height of four feet
“ from the ground, was stone laid in clay, and wooden spars
“ erected at certain distances. On the east side of the circle,
“ about the fourth part of the house was open, the other three-
“ fourths entirely closed. A round pointed roof covered the
“ whole in the form of a tent, well thatched with long reeds,
“ or with the straws of the holcus. From the centre to the
“ back part of the house, a circular apartment is made off,
“ with a narrow entrance into it, where the head of the fa-
“ mily takes his nightly rest; the other members of the family
“ sleep in the fore part, or between the large and small circles
“ of the house. All the houses were enclosed by pallisades;
“ and the space between these and the dwelling serves for a
“ granary and store for their grain and pulse. These granaries
“ were constructed in the form of oil jars, of baked clay, the
“ capacity of each being at the least two hundred gallons; and
“ they were supported on tripods, composed of the same ma-
“ terial, which raised them about nine inches above the ground.
“ They were covered with a round straw roof erected on poles,
“ and sufficiently high to admit an opening into the jars, the
“ upper edges of which were from five to six feet from the
“ ground.

“ We walked through the town and observed that both
“ within it, and on every side, were plantations of that species

“of Mimosa which constitutes the principal food of the Ca-
“melopardalis. We estimated the city to be, in its circum-
“ference, as large as Cape Town, with all the gardens of Table
“Valley; but it was impossible to ascertain the number of
“houses, on account of the irregularity of the streets, and low-
“ness of the buildings, but concluded they must amount some-
“where between two and three thousand, of the same kind,
“but not so large, as that of the chief. The whole population,
“including men, women, and children, we considered to be
“from ten to fifteen thousand souls. Tracing our route from
“the last place in the Roggeveld, upon Mr. Barrow’s map, and
“continuing the same scale, we calculated the situation of
“Leetakoo to be in latitude $26^{\circ} 30'$ south, and longitude $27^{\circ} 00'$
“east from Greenwich.”

The women here, as well as among the eastern Kaffers,
and indeed in all nations just emerged from a savage state,
went through all the hard labour and drudgery that was re-
quired for the support of the family. They not only performed
the task of breaking up the ground with a kind of hoe made
of iron, and afterwards planted it, but they constructed their
habitations, and collected the materials that were necessary for
the same. They reaped the grain, cleared it from the husk,
and laid it up in the granaries, which, with other earthen pots
and wooden vessels, were the work of their hands. The men
prepare the skins and hides which serve for shoes, and make
them up into cloaks for themselves, their wives, and children;
they attend also the cattle, milk the cows, and hunt the ante-
lopes.

ropes and other game, with a weapon called the Haffagai, which is used also in battle.

I observed, in the former volume, that the Kaffers were not the aborigines of the southern angle of Africa; that they might, perhaps, derive their origin from some of those wandering tribes of Arabs known by the name of *Beduins*. I am more than ever convinced they are of Arabic origin. Their pastoral habits and manners, their kind and friendly reception to strangers, their tent-shaped houses, the remains of Islamism discoverable in one of its strongest features, the circumcision of male children, universally practised among the Kaffer hordes, all denote their affinity to the Beduin tribes. Their countenance also is Arabic; the colour only differs, which in some tribes varies from deep bronze to jet black, but most generally the latter is the prevailing colour. Nor can I suppose they owe this colour to their connection with those blacks which are usually called Negroes, as they have no resemblance, in any part of the body, to the peculiar conformation of this race of human beings. To the Ethiopians or Abyssinians they have a much closer resemblance.

The public will shortly have an opportunity of forming a better judgment, than by any description I can convey, of the Kaffer countenance and figure, from the accurate pencil of Mr. S. Daniell, who accompanied the above-mentioned commissioners, and who is preparing for publication a set of valuable prints, which are meant to describe the character and costume of the various tribes of natives that environ the Cape settlement, together

ther with accurate and spirited figures of the quadrupeds mentioned in my former volume, with others hitherto undescribed.

How far the belt of country extends in width across the southern part of Africa, inhabited by the Kaffers, is not exactly known, but the points on each coast are sufficiently ascertained to which they do not extend. To the southward of the Portuguese settlement of Rio de la Goa, the natives are Kaffers; but from the description given of them they appear to be a degenerated race. They are however *free*; nor has Portuguese avarice yet dared to attempt to make them slaves. This is not the case to the northward. At Mozambique and Soffala the black people are all negroes, not, however, at the present day, natives of the sea-coast, but such as are brought down from the interior as articles of trade. From Mozambique they have now, as appears from the information of a Portuguese slave merchant, a direct communication across the continent with their settlements of Congo, Loango, and Benguela, on the west coast, between which negro merchants are established in different parts of the country. So that there are no Kaffers in the line of this route.

The commissioners, from whose report I have above quoted, were informed at *Leetakoo* that another powerful tribe of the same nation, called the *Baroloos* dwelt at the distance of eight or ten days' journey farther to the northward. Reckoning the average of a day's journey to be twenty miles, we shall find the *Baroloos* inhabiting the country under the southern tropic; and we may conclude, from the following information which Mr. Trüter received

received of this people, that they are not the last to the northward. He was told, "That they were of a kind and friendly disposition; that their town was so extensive, that if a person set out in the morning from one extremity, and travelled to the other, he would not be able to return before the following day; that this town contained many thousand inhabitants; that the people were very ingenious in carving of wood, and that they had furnaces for smelting both copper and iron; that they were exceedingly rich in cattle; their gardens and lands were better cultivated, and their dwellings much superior to those of *Leetakoo*." The *Damaras* also, whom I mentioned in my former travels to be in possession of the art of smelting copper from the ore, as well as I could collect from report, are inhabitants of the Tropic; and they are complete Kaffers, differing in nothing from those on the eastern coast. I should suppose, therefore, that a line drawn from the 24th parallel of latitude on the east coast, to the 20th on the west, may mark the boundary, or nearly so, between the Kaffers and the negroes.

The late Colonel Gordon was of opinion, that a line from Cape Negro, on the west coast, to Cape Corientes on the east, marked the boundaries between the Kaffers and the negroes; but in this he was obviously mistaken; a line from these two points including Portuguese settlements on both sides, that on the east coast being known to be inhabited by the same kind of stupid negroes that are natives of Mosambique. Nor have we any reason for supposing that, by the Portuguese taking possession of Rio de la Goa, the Kaffers have been driven in towards

wards the Cape of Good Hope; for Vasco de Gama found the inhabitants of this part of the coast of a copper or brown colour, clothed in cotton, in silk, and satin bonnets; and a little further to the northward he met with Indian ships having on board both compasses and charts. The Arabs, in fact, at that time, had possession of all the coast from Cape Corientes to the Red Sea.

The tribe of Congo appeared to be very prolific; children, in swarms, issued from the thickets; and such as were under the age of eight or nine years were perfectly naked; they exhibited no appearances of being scantily fed, but, on the contrary, were plump and healthful.

Just the reverse was the condition of their dogs. These animals were the most lean and miserable looking creatures I ever beheld, and their numbers seemed little inferior to those of the children. It is a fortunate circumstance for the Kaffers, and equally so for the colonists, who are no less fond of dogs than the former, that, notwithstanding the heat of the climate, the canine madness, with its concomitant and remarkable symptom the hydrophobia or dread of water, is totally unknown. One of the greatest nuisances in Cape Town is the number of dogs that prowl about the streets (acknowledging no master) particularly by night, when they quit their dens and lurking places, in quest of the offals of butchers' shops. In this respect, however, they are of use, for the lazy Dutchman conceives he has done his part by casting them out of the slaughter-house into the street. Before the English brought in a garrison of five thousand men,

the head, the heart, the liver, &c. were all included among the offals; but an increase in the consumption having caused an increase in the price of butchers' meat, these parts of the animal have, of late, been sold as well as the carcase; and the dogs have consequently less to clear away. Sometimes the wolves and hyenas descend from their dens in the Table Mountain, and dispute the spoil with the dogs: at such times the town resounds with their hideous howlings the whole night long.

The circumstance of Southern Africa being free from the canine madness, and also from the small pox, would lead one to conclude that neither the one nor the other of these diseases were of spontaneous origin; but that actual biting in the one case, and actual contact in the other, were necessary for their production. Whatever may have been the cause that first created those diseases, it should seem such cause has not yet existed here, or that the climate is unfavourable for its operation. Twice since the foundation of the colony the small pox have been brought into it, and both times have committed dreadful havock among the settlers. That such will always be the fatal effects, may readily be imagined among so gross a people, unprepared for the reception of the disease, and ignorant how to treat it; but it is not so easy to conceive in what manner they got rid of it. I believe it is now forty years since the last time it made its appearance. All the old Kaffers, I observed, were strongly marked with it; the disease, they say, was brought among them by a ship that was stranded on their coast; and I should conclude it has visited them since the time it was last brought into Cape Town, as the chief Congo, who could not,

when we saw him, be above thirty years of age, was marked with the small pox. It is rather singular that a disease, which is supposed to have originated in the northern parts of this continent, and from thence disseminated into every corner of the world, should neither be endemic in the southern extremity of the same continent, nor its contagious effects, when carried thither, of permanent duration.

I am aware that some modern authors have traced the origin of the small pox to Arabia, where it was common at the time of the flight from Mecca; but I think Doctor Mead's opinion more probable, that, at a much earlier period it prevailed, along with the plague, in Ethiopia and other inland countries of Northern Africa. For had a disease of so contagious a nature been endemic in Arabia, in the beginning of the seventh century, when the inhabitants of this country were the carriers of the eastern, and the conquerors of the western world, its baneful effects would sooner have been experienced in foreign nations. That the Saracens and Arabians were the means of dispersing it through the world, there can be little doubt. The Chinese, according to their own annals, had it from the latter in the tenth century; and as Doctor Mead has observed, in the beginning of the twelfth century it gained vast ground by means of the wars waged by a confederacy of the Christian powers against the Saracens for the recovery of the Holy Land; "This being," says the Doctor, "the only visible recompence
"of their religious expeditions, which they brought back to
"their respective countries." The Ethiopians being a race of people almost unknown, and shut out from all commerce
with

with the rest of the world, will account for its long confinement to its native soil.

That canine madness is not owing to heat of climate, as we are apt to suppose in England, may be inferred from its non-existence in Egypt, in the West India islands, and other tropical situations, as well as at the Cape of Good Hope.

From the banks of the Sunday River to head-quarters in Bruyntjes Hoogté, little occurred that was worthy of notice. The observation I formerly made, that men and other animals in Southern Africa appear to increase in their bulk, in proportion to the elevation of the country of which they are inhabitants, was forcibly exemplified in our journey from the Zuure Veld to Bruyntjes Hoogté. On the plains of the former, stretching along the sea-coast, seldom subject to long drought, and well covered with grass, the cattle are generally lean and of a diminutive size, and sheep will scarcely exist. On the heights of the latter, where half the surface of the ground is naked, and the grass found only here and there in tufts, they have the finest oxen, without exception, in the whole colony, and sheep equal to those of the snowy mountains. Nor are these heights less favourable to the growth of the human species. There is scarcely a family in which some part of it has not arrived to a very unusual size. But of all the monstrous beings I ever beheld, in the shape of a human creature, was a woman of the name of *Van Vooren*. So vast was her bulk that, although in perfect health, free from rheumatic or other local complaints, and under forty years of age, she had not been

able to walk for the last twelve years of her life; nor, what was still more extraordinary, to raise herself to a sitting posture upon the bed without the help of a stick, tied by the middle with a string, and suspended from the roof. Her arm, above the elbow, measured 23 Dutch inches, or 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ English, in circumference. Yet, in this helpless and deplorable situation, Mademoiselle, for she was an unmarried lady, contrived to fulfil the end of her creation, by bringing into the world a fine healthy child. The fate, however, of this extraordinary person, as I have since been informed, was attended with very melancholy circumstances. In the subsequent wars between the boors and the Hottentots, the house in which she lived was attacked and set on fire. All the rest of the family effected their escape, except this unfortunate creature, whom they found it impossible, on account of her size, to get through the door, and were therefore under the necessity of leaving to perish in the flames.

From Bruyntjes Hoogté we proceeded to the Kaffer frontier. The Great Fish River was now so low, that except in those places where it stood in deep holes, we could cross it without wetting our feet. Not a single hippopotamus was now to be seen in any of those holes, where, on my former visit, they were so abundant. I suspect they occasionally migrate to other rivers, and if so it must be over land, as the sea affords no subsistence for them, nor does it appear that they can long remain in salt water near the mouths of rivers. It is certain, at least, that they always quit such situations at night, and travel over land, sometimes many miles, in search of fresh water. So that the

Dutch

Dutch name of *sea-cow* is equally improper as their ancient appellation of hippopotamus or river-horse. The river rhinosceros would be a more appropriate name than any other, although it has no horns upon its nose, which obtained for the land animal the appellation of the *nose-horn*, ρινὸς κέρατος. With the natural history and habits of this extraordinary amphibious animal (if I may be allowed to call it so), we are very imperfectly acquainted; nor have I seen any figure that conveys an accurate representation of its character, shape, and magnitude, except in a drawing made from nature by Mr. Daniell, from which a print will appear in his intended publication. Nor do I know of any good figure of the African rhinosceros, which is altogether different from that of India covered with its hide of mail. The skin of the two-horned rhinosceros is comparatively smooth, and has none of the folds so remarkable in that of the one-horned species; but it is so thick that the Dutch boors cut out of it their largest *sambocs* or horse-rods, which, if well prepared, are better than those of the hippopotamus, and transparent as amber. The head of this animal is very remarkable. Not only the horns sit upon the nose, but the eyes also are placed in it, being directly under the root of the larger horn; and they are so minute, that one would suppose them of little use to so huge a creature. But nature, always provident, has remedied this seeming inconvenience by placing them in projecting sockets, in which they turn in all directions like those of the little cameleon. Had the eye been placed in the usual part of the face, just below the projecting forehead, which is very large, the visual rays would have embraced only about 180 degrees, or half of the horizon; whereas, in their present position, they

have

have a much greater scope, being able, I should suppose, without any motion of the head, to sweep from 260 to 270 degrees. Of two varieties of this animal Mr. Daniell has made excellent drawings, in one of which the upper horn is almost as large as the lower, and is pointed towards it.

Having collected the forces that had been stationed along the banks of the Great Fish River, we set out upon our return to Algoa Bay. On approaching the Sunday River, and perceiving that the Kaffers had made no preparations for departing, it was thought advisable to renew the message to their chief Congo. In the mean time the troops and the waggons proceeded on their march. After waiting some time the messenger returned without being able to speak to the chief. Whatever reluctance Congo had discovered to quit the station he had taken up among the colonists, it never entered into our calculations that he would be rash and imprudent enough to commence an attack against a large body of regular troops. Such, however, was the step he chose to take, at the instigation, as we afterwards found, of some of the rebel boors, who had fled amongst his people, in preference of appearing before the General in Bruyntjes Hoogté. Just as we came up with the main body a sudden alarm was raised in the rear. A Hottentot driver of one of the waggons was killed by a hassagai that had been thrown at him by some person posted in ambush. Kaffers began to appear in great numbers on all the heights, collecting, apparently, with a view to attack us; and several were observed close upon us lurking in the bushes. Being at this awkward juncture in a narrow defile, choaked almost with brushwood, and surrounded with Kaffers,
we

we found it necessary to discharge two or three rounds of grape from two field-pieces, in order to clear the thickets.

The situation of the country became more and more embarrassing. It was a point that required some management to prevent a junction between the Kaffers, urged by the rebel boors to this act of aggression, and the dissatisfied Hottentots, that were every where flying from the persecutions of their masters. To get the latter down to the plains near Algoa Bay, as speedily as possible, was the most advisable measure; accordingly, accompanied by a few dragoons, I took charge of the Hottentots and their cattle, and we pursued our journey to the southward; whilst the General marched back into the Zuure Veld, in order to pick up a party of infantry that had been stationed there, with a view of cutting off a retreat of the boors into the Kaffer country.

Whether it happened that, in passing through the woods, we had picked up some of the cattle belonging to the Kaffers, or that they had a design upon those of the Hottentots that were driven before us, is not certain; but on our arrival, towards the evening, at Zwart Kop's River, a number of the Kaffers were observed lurking among the shrubbery. About the middle of the night, the sentinel, which we had placed by way of precaution, gave the alarm of an enemy. Upon this a serjeant of dragoons observing something move in the dark, rushed into the bushes, and, firing his pistol, brought a man to the ground. It was a young well-looking Kaffer about six feet high. He made great efforts to remain on his feet, but weakened by loss of blood,

blood, he could not stand without support. On examining his wound, we found the ball had entered just below the shoulder blade, and passed through the right breast. With some difficulty we contrived to stop the hemorrhage, and to bind up the wound, after washing it well with milk and water. From the distortions of countenance, and the large drops of sweat that ran over his body, it was very evident that he suffered a violent degree of pain; but he neither vented a sigh nor a groan, nor could be prevailed upon to open his lips, although spoken to in his own language by a Hottentot interpreter. We caused him to be carried into a clean straw hut, and milk in a curdled state to be brought to him, but he refused it. At an early hour in the morning I went to the hut to inquire after the patient's health, but he was gone. The *coffray*, or infidel, at the point of death, thought it safer to crawl into the woods, than to remain in the hands of Christians.

From Zwart Kop's River we proceeded to a plain that is contiguous to Algoa Bay, where, to our great astonishment, we found the whole of the boors and their families assembled, who had been plundered by the Hottentots, with their cattle and waggons and the remains of their property, waiting our arrival; in order, as they said, to claim protection against the heathens. It was a painful situation to be thus placed between two parties, each claiming protection, and each vowing vengeance against the other, without possessing the means of keeping them asunder. My whole strength consisted in about a dozen dragoons; the Hottentots, great and small, amounted to upwards of five hundred; and the boors, with their families, to about one

one hundred and fifty. Fortunately the Rattlesnake was still in the bay, and I obtained from Captain Gooch twenty armed seamen; and, the more effectually to keep the contending parties in order, I caused a swivel gun to be mounted on a post immediately between the boors and the Hottentots.

In this state, after many days anxiety, in which none passed without quarrels and bickerings between the boors and Hottentots, I received a letter from General Vandeleur, stating, that the Kaffers, instigated by the rebel boors, had been led to the bold measure of attacking his camp near Bosjesman's River, for the sake, as he supposed, of obtaining a supply of gunpowder; that the latter had kept up a pretty brisk fire from behind the bushes, but that the Kaffers finding it useless to oppose their long missile weapons against musquetry, retired for a moment but soon appeared again, rushing forward upon the open plain, with the iron part only of the Hassagai in their hands. That, however, after several rounds of grape from the field-pieces, and the fire of the infantry, by which numbers were killed, they retreated into the thickets.

These people soon perceived of how much greater advantage was a short weapon to a muscular arm, than a long missile spear, whose slow motion through the air makes it easily to be avoided. The blade of the Roman sword, which once conquered the world, was only about fifteen inches long, and such a sword would, perhaps, at this awful moment, be well suited for the nervous arm and the bold and invincible spirit of a Briton.

The same letter gave an account of an unfortunate affair that happened to Lieutenant Chumney and twenty men of the 81st regiment. This officer had been detached towards the sea-coast, and was returning to the camp at Bosjesman's River, when he was surprized among the thickets by a large party of Kaffers, who attacked them hand to hand with the iron part of their Hassagais, the wooden shaft being previously broken off. This young officer defended himself bravely till sixteen of his party were killed. The remaining four, with a Dutch boor, got into a waggon that accompanied the detachment, and arrived safe at the camp. Poor Chumney was on horseback, and when the waggon set out had three Hassagais sticking in his body. Finding himself mortally wounded, and perceiving that the whole aim of the enemy was directed towards him, he made a sign to the waggon to drive off; and turning his horse, he set off in a contrary direction, pursued by the whole body of Kaffers; affording thus an opportunity for the small remains of his party to save their lives by flight.

In this situation of affairs the rebel boors, associated with the Kaffers, contrived to circulate a report among the Hottentots at Algoa Bay, that it was the intention of the English to put them on board ship, and to send them to the Cape. Such an idea created no small degree of alarm among these poor creatures; and I observed on the following morning, that a great number had stolen away in the night; and, as we afterwards found, had joined the Kaffers. This malicious and ill-judged conduct of the boors was the cause of all the subsequent misfortunes that befel themselves and their countrymen, and ultimately brought
on

on their own destruction. For it not only defeated our intention of carrying into effect such arrangements as were likely to have reconciled the two parties to each other; but it was, likewise, the means of bringing together a collective body of Kaffers and Hottentots, whose first step was to drive all the boors out of their society, to plunder them of the rest of their cattle, set fire to their houses, and put several of them to death. Having cleared the whole of the lower part of Graaf Reynet, they advanced into the district of Zwellendam. Their whole hatred was levelled against the boors. Single dragoons carrying dispatches have frequently been met by large parties of these plunderers, and suffered to pass without molestation. Even a house, which they discovered at Plettenberg's Bay to belong to an English gentleman, they left undisturbed, whilst all the rest that fell in their way were burnt to the ground.

The same house, however, was afterwards plundered by a party of boors who had been collected by the magistrates of Zwellendam to clear the district of the Kaffers and Hottentots. These unprincipled men, either out of revenge, or from an irresistible impulse to mischief, broke open the house, carried away clothing and every thing that was portable, drank all the wine and spirits they could find, and made themselves completely intoxicated. Yet the very men who committed those enormities, were, at that moment, under the impression that their dearest connexions (if it were possible any thing could be dear to such men), their wives, and children, were massacred by the enemy, into whose hands they knew them to have fallen. They had been met, it seems, a few days before, in a narrow

pass by a party of Kaffers and Hottentots, and, as usual, on perceiving the enemy, mounted their horses and galloped away as fast as they could, leaving their wives and children and wag-gons in the possession of the robbers.

No outrage nor injury were offered to the prisoners, but, on the contrary, as on all similar occasions, they were treated with respect. They even dispatched a Hottentot after the fugitive boors to say, that if they chose to ransom their wives and children for a small quantity of powder and lead, and a dozen head of cattle, they should instantly be delivered up. It is natural to suppose that, under such circumstances, the ties of kindred affection would have superseded all considerations of prudence, and have stifled resentment; and that a proposal, which held out such easy terms for the recovery of their wives and children, would have been seized with avidity. This, however, was not the case. An African boor has no such feelings; his passions, uncontrolled by the powers of reason or reflection, are always predominant. One of the party, recognising the Hottentot, thus sent to them, to have once been in his service, and recollecting he was now standing before him in the shape of an enemy, and defenceless, fired at once with rage and revenge, snatched up his musquet in his hand, and shot him dead upon the spot. Intelligence of this atrocious act was speedily conveyed, by the companion of the deceased, to the Kaffers and Hottentots; and it was reported, and believed, that they had in consequence put all the women and children to death. And under this impression, as I have before observed, the husbands and fathers of these women and children broke open Mr. Cal-

lander's house, and were dancing, in a state of intoxication, upon the green. The prisoners, however, were given up, notwithstanding the murder of the messenger; for they disdained, as they told them, to take away the lives of the innocent; but that they should soon find an opportunity of avenging the death of their countryman upon their husbands, together with the many injuries and oppressions under which they had so long been labouring.

It is painful to dwell on subjects that disgrace human nature, but as the atrocities of the African colonists have hitherto escaped the punishment of the law, all that can be done is to expose them to the horror and detestation of mankind. The following act stated officially to government by Mr. Vander Kemp, a missionary in Graaf Reynet, is enough to make one shudder at the name of a Cape boor. This zealous and intelligent man, on finding the Kaffers were not disposed to profit by his instructions, established himself under the sanction of government near the Sunday River, in order to try his success with the more tractable Hottentots. His little village soon became an asylum for the poor fugitives, who, after their skirmishes with the boors, had concealed themselves among the rocks and thickets. They now fled to Mr. Vander Kemp as to a place of security, and to one on whom, being, as they considered him to be, in the service of the British government, they could place unbounded confidence. Among others, one poor fellow with his wife and child, in his way to the asylum, called at a boor's house in Lange Kloof of the name of Van Roy,

Roy, a relation of the man who shot the three deserters, to ask for a little milk for his wife and child, who were nearly exhausted with hunger. The unfeeling monster seized the man, and bringing a loaded musquet, ordered a Hottentot in his service to shoot him; the Hottentot obstinately persisting to refuse, the exasperated boor snatched the gun and shot him dead upon the spot, and then caused the other Hottentot with his wife and child to be murdered! If, observes Mr. Vander Kemp, atrocious deeds like these are to pass with impunity, the unfortunate Hottentots, not knowing whom to trust, would be driven to desperation, and a general insurrection would be the consequence.

It is, indeed, much less surprising that this nation should, at length, be roused to a spirit of vengeance, than that it should so long and so patiently have endured every species of injury. As pretended friends, and masters, the boors have always treated them with injustice and oppression; as enemies, with barbarous inhumanity. In their expeditions against the Bosjesmans, of which I have spoken at large in the former volume, their chief aim is to murder the men, and make the children slaves. I cannot convey a better idea in what manner they have been accustomed to conduct their hostile expeditions against the Kaffers, than by inserting a few articles of the instructions, proposed by the Landroft of one of the districts, to be given to the commandant.

“ Article 1st. No unnecessary cruelty to be exercised on the prisoners, on pain of exemplary punishment.

“ Article

“ Article 2d. The women and children, and *especially* those
“ of the Kaffers, that may happen to fall into the hands of the
“ *Commando*, are not to be mal-treated, nor the children taken
“ away ; but, on the contrary, to be safely returned by a proper
“ person to their respective families, after the *late example*
“ *shewn by the Kaffers* at Plettenberg's Bay.” (This alludes to
the circumstances I have already related.)

“ Article 3d. On the conquest of any kraal (village) the huts
“ are not to be set on fire, as usual ; as there is every reason for
“ supposing that, *to this practice alone*, the burning and plun-
“ dering of our farm-houses are to be ascribed.

“ Article 4th. *The dead carcases of the enemy are not to be*
“ *violated*, as has usually been the practice of the evil-disposed
“ part of the Commandos, by *cutting them with knives, lashing*
“ *them with waggon whips, and backing them with stones* ; as
“ such conduct tends only to exasperate the enemy, and induces
“ them to commit murder.

“ Article 5th. It is not, perhaps, advisable for the boors, *in*
“ *the first instance*, to take away the cattle of the Kaffers ; be-
“ cause, by doing this, the enemy will always be tempted to
“ hover round the *Commando* in order to watch a favourable
“ opportunity to retake them ; besides, to guard a consider-
“ able number of cattle, by requiring many men, weakens the
“ *Commando* ; they ought therefore to confine their operations
“ to the pursuit of the enemy, and to expel them the country,
“ by

“ by which *the whole of their cattle will, of course, fall into*
“ *the hands of the boors.*”

This curious production concludes by observing that, “ al-
“ though all the above points have been repeatedly urged to
“ the Commandants, it will avail nothing unless they be en-
“ forced by the government.” He might have added that, re-
moved as they were out of the reach and inspection of govern-
ment, no recommendation nor orders would be attended to by
men who were so completely under the dominion of their brutal
passions. I should not have ventured to give the fourth article
of these extraordinary instructions as authentic, had it not ap-
peared before me as an official document. The British govern-
ment was much too mild and moderate for a set of men of so
odious a character as their own countryman has here described
them, in the articles of his instructions. Such men will never
become civilized until they are “ ruled with a rod of iron.”
The most lenient measures, replete with every indulgence, have
been tried without success. Not one sentiment of gratitude ever
escaped them for a full pardon of all their offences, and the
remission of a large debt; on the contrary, rebellion raised its
head in the same moment that indulgence was extended. So
conscious, indeed, are they of their wickedness, that, whenever
they escape punishment, they conclude that the government no
longer possesses the power of inflicting it, and that it spares
them only because it is convenient to let them alone. Yet to
what a wretched condition might they be reduced by one single
act of the government; forbidding them all access to the Cape,
and

and depriving them of gunpowder; both of which might easily and completely be effected by the small military post at Algoa Bay.

However desirable it might have been to apprehend and punish the rebels, who had instigated the Kaffers to acts of hostility against the British troops, yet it was by no means advisable, in order to obtain that point, to wage an unequal contest with savages in the midst of impenetrable thickets, whose destruction would have added little lustre to the British arms, and been advantageous only to the very people who had urged them on. General Vandeleur, therefore, very prudently withdrew his forces, and marched them down to Algoa Bay, where part of them were embarked on board the Rattlesnake, and the rest intended to proceed to the Cape by easy marches. Subsequent events, however, delayed their departure, and rendered the presence of troops necessary at Algoa Bay until the evacuation of the colony.

Having delivered over the remaining Hottentots, on the return of the General, and finding I could be of no further use, I set out for the Cape, where, after a journey of sixteen days, performed with two horses, I arrived on the 8th of June.

Little occurred on the homeward journey that was worthy of observation, unless it was the visible change that had taken place in the behaviour of the people of Zwellendam. While the boors of Graaf Reynet were still in arms, the inhabitants of this neighbouring district appeared to be wavering, but on hear-

ing of their complete reduction, they now pretended to condemn their conduct. Whatever the real sentiments of the colonists might be with regard to the British government, this was not their last attempt to effect their avaricious designs on the cattle of the Kaffers, by commencing hostilities against the magistrates and the small force left in Graaf Reynet for their protection. But these disturbances were merely local, and had plunder only for their object. All the other districts remained quiet; and long before the intelligence of a general peace had reached this country, the people were so much reconciled to the British government, as neither to expect nor wish for a return of their own.

In fact there is no natural tie between the Cape and the United Provinces. The greater part of the colonists, being the descendants of soldiers in German regiments, composed of Prussians, Hanoverians, Flemings, and Poles, and of French refugees who took shelter here after the revocation of the edict of Nantz, have neither knowledge of, nor family connections in, the states of the Batavian republic; nor have they any distinct idea of *Vaderland*, a word, however, that is constantly in their mouths. All they know is, that the Cape belonged to a company of merchants; that this company was their sovereign; and that they used to see a flag with three broad horizontal stripes, red, white, and blue, flying upon the castle, instead of the *Spinnekop*, or spider legs, as they called the British ensign. A few years more would therefore, in all probability, have rendered them, or the greatest part of them, very indifferent as to the government under which they were to remain.

Some little rejoicing might, however, naturally be supposed to take place on seeing once again the same flag hoisted on the castle walls, which they had always been accustomed to look at; and they would have shewn themselves a very worthless and despicable people not to have testified their feelings of joy on such an occasion. These rejoicings, however, were neither general nor tumultuous, nor of long duration; they were chiefly confined within the castle walls. The recollection of the miserable condition of the colony at the capture, and the general prosperity that had rapidly succeeded it, seemed forcibly to have operated at this moment. From a state of poverty, and almost general bankruptcy, they were now grown individually rich. Instead of near half a million sterling, that for the last seven years had annually been expended in the colony by the army, the navy, and English settlers, they now began to consider that half of this sum might annually be taken out of their pockets for the maintenance of their future garrison. Little care, indeed, was taken to conceal that such was the design of the Batavian government under the present exhausted state of its finances.

They saw likewise that the settlement, though nominally restored to the Batavian republic, was actually to become a colony of France. Of this they had many convincing proofs. The commandant of the troops was a Frenchman of Swiss extraction, and half of the officers were French. A native of the Cape, who had held an employ of considerable importance under the old government, happening to be in Holland

at the time when the definitive treaty of peace was signed, made application to the State Directory for a very high situation at the Cape, which, however, they thought proper to refuse. He went to Paris; obtained an audience of Buonaparte, or his minister, in consequence of which an *order* was sent to the State Government to revise their motives of refusal.

Another instance of French influence prevailing at the Cape was too striking to be overlooked. A Swiss gentleman, who had filled a high and honourable station in the service of the English East India Company in Bengal, but for some reason or other had been dismissed, passed through the Cape on his return to England, and became enamoured of its attractions. His wife, in his absence, being handsome and much younger than himself, engaged the attention of Mr. Talleyrand, and lived with him as his mistress, until the French government had found it convenient to pass a resolution *that there was a God*, and therefore that there ought to be a religion, when the former Bishop of Autun found no difficulty in obtaining a dispensation from the Pope to marry her. The husband, on his return to Europe, proceeded to Paris, where Mr. Talleyrand, to prevent his becoming troublesome, recommended him to accept of a high appointment at the Cape of Good Hope, where, I understand, he arrived within a month after the evacuation, not as plain Mr. G——, late of the English East India Company's service, but as *Monsieur Le G——, Conseiller privé et intime de la Republique Batave auprès du Gouverneur et Conseil au Cap de Bonne Esperance.*

It

It also appeared, from the conduct of the three commissioners that were sent out to arrange certain points with the British government, that French interest was likely to predominate at the Cape. These gentlemen, though calling themselves Dutch, made a hard struggle, though without success, that the minutes of their joint transactions, and correspondence with the commissioners that were appointed on the part of the British government, should be kept in the French language. In short, every step that was taken by the new government, clearly evinced that, although the Batavian flag might be suffered to fly, French influence was likely to prevail. Long, indeed, before the peace, it was become pretty evident that Holland was not in a condition to make any successful struggle in defence of her integrity or existence, and that an incorporation with Belgium, and becoming a department of France, would, in all probability, be the final *Euthanasia* of their *High Mightinesses*, the United Provinces.

These and other considerations produced a gloominess and melancholy on the minds of the greater part of the colonists that bordered on despondency. When the day of evacuation arrived, the castle and the road to the wharf were lined with spectators; not drawn together for the sake of expressing a boisterous joy usual on such occasions, but to take a melancholy farewell of their best friends. As General Dundas passed along with the Commissary General de Mist and the Governor Jansens, a dead silence prevailed; not a word nor a murmur was heard. And the friendly and affectionate leave the Commanders in Chief of the two garrisons took of each other, after the delicate and trying situation

situation in which, for the two last months, they had been placed, in consequence of the order from England countermanding the restoration of the settlement, was highly honourable to their feelings as men and officers. Few places, I believe, have been ceded by one power to another with more regularity and less commotion, than what happened at the restoration of the Cape of Good Hope, by General Dundas on the part of his Majesty's Government to the representatives of the Batavian Republic.

CHAP. III.

Importance of the Cape of Good Hope considered as a Military Station.

Views of the British Government in taking Possession of the Cape—State of that Colony—Arrival of the British Forces—Behaviour of the Inhabitants—Capture of the Settlement—general Opinion of its Importance—Plans for its Government.—Lord Macartney appointed Governor.—Resolution of the Minister.—Conduct of the present Directors of the East India Company—compared with that of those in the American War.—Consequences of our Failure in the Expedition against the Cape at that Time.—Considerations proposed in a Treaty with Holland in 1787—Opinion of Lord Macartney.—Holland not desirous to have the Cape.—Order of the East India Company prohibiting their Ships to touch at the Cape—countermanded with regard to Ships navigated by Lascars.—Condition of two Regiments brought to the Cape in such Ships.—Design of the following Part of this Work.—Meaning of the Term Military Station.—Soldiers, what.—Importance of forming Men previous to Embarkation.—Inconveniences attending a Sea Voyage.—India not favourable for forming Recruits into Soldiers.—A middle Station desirable.—Cape of Good Hope, great Advantages of in this Respect—possesses all the Requisites desired by the East India Company as a Depôt.—Healthiness of Climate, various Proofs of—seasons the Constitution for India—remarkable Instance of in upwards of two thousand Men sent to India—another in twelve hundred to the Red Sea.—Difficulties started against this Expedition.—Importance of the Cape on Account of the small Expence of subsisting Troops there.—Value of the Ration here and elsewhere.—Price of Provisions—of Wine.—Profits derived by the Government at the Cape from Bills on his Majesty's Paymasters—from Specie imported—from Copper Money—from issuing new Paper Money.—Expenditure in the military Department—a mere Trifle compared with the Importance of the Station—capable of being borne in Peace out of the colonial Revenues.—Importance of the Cape on account of its local Position—instanced in detecting the Views of Tippoo
at

at the Isle of France—in sending Troops expeditiously to India.—Opportunities of doing this in English or neutral Ships.—General Advantages.—Importance of the Cape stated in comparison with that of Malta.—Views of the French on India—seen in the Publication of Anquetil Duperron.—Disadvantages of Malta being in the Hands of the French.—Difficulties that would attend an Expedition by Sea from Suez.—Island of Perim.—Difficulties that would occur by Land—not insurmountable.—De la Croix's Opinion of the Cape.—Defences of the Cape.—Table Bay and Site of the Town.—Works.—Citadel.—Lines.—Craig's Battery and Tower.—Fort Knocke.—Rogge Bay, Amsterdam, and Chavonne Batteries—the Mouillé—Camp's Bay and Batteries.—Importance of the Lion's Rump.—Objections against it.—Chapman and Hout Bays.—Simon's Bay.—Garrison of the Cape, Strength of.—Unprotected Coast and Bays.—Algoa Bay.—Means to be employed by an Enemy for distressing the Garrison—taken by a Coup de Main.—Garrison of the Dutch.—Disposition of the Hottentot Corps.—State of the Batavian Ships of War in the Eastern Seas.—Ammunition and Stores at the Cape.

WHEN the Prince of Orange had departed from Holland, and the subsequent affairs of that nation had rendered it sufficiently obvious that the majority of the inhabitants of the United Provinces were inclined to adopt the revolutionary principles of France, it became a measure of precaution, in our government, to take immediate possession of the Dutch colonies. Among these the Cape of Good Hope claimed the earliest attention, being considered as a settlement of too great importance to be trusted in the hands of the Dutch colonists, although it was well known the principal and greatest number of the military officers, as well as many of those who held civil appointments there, were indebted to their Prince for the situations they enjoyed in that colonial government.

An expedition was accordingly sent out to take possession of the Cape, not however in a hostile manner, but to hold it in defence

fence and security for, and in the name of, the Prince of Orange, who had furnished letters dated from London to that effect. But the misguided people of the colony, having received only imperfect accounts of affairs in Holland, and being led to expect a French force at the Cape, had already embraced the principles of Jacobinism, whose effects were the more to be dreaded on account of the consummate ignorance of the bulk of the settlers. Some French emissaries, those assiduous disturbers of the human race, who, snake like, have crept into every society and corner of the world, poisoning the springs of peace and good order, found little difficulty in urging a people, already so well disposed, to carry their principles into practice. The few officers of the government who were supposed to be attached to the cause of the Stadtholder, and friends to the old system, were completely subdued; and the weakness of the governor favoured the views of the disorderly citizens. They became clamorous to declare themselves, by some public act, a free and independent republic; they prepared to plant the tree of liberty, and established a convention, whose first object was to make out proscribed lists of those who were either to suffer death by the new-fashioned mode of the guillotine, which they had taken care to provide for the purpose, or to be banished out of the colony. It is almost needless to state that the persons, so marked out to be the victims of an unruly rabble, were the only worthy people in the settlement, and most of them members of government.

The slaves, whose numbers of grown men, as I have before observed, are about five to one of male whites who have arrived

at the growth of manhood, had also their meetings to decide upon the fate of the free and independent burghers, when the happy days of their own emancipation should arrive, which, from the conversations of their masters on the blessings of liberty and equality, and the unalienable rights of man, they were willing to suppose, could not be very distant.

In this state of things the British fleet appeared before the bay. The governor called an extraordinary council to deliberate upon the steps to be taken in this critical juncture. Some were inclined to throw the settlement under the protection of the British flag, but the governor and the greater number influenced, and perhaps intimidated, by the citizens, listened to the absurd proposals of resisting the English force, and, if successful, as they doubted not they would be, of setting up immediately a free and independent republic of their own. They talked of the thousands and ten thousands of courageous boors, who, on the signal of alarm being given, would flock to the Batavian standard; so ignorant were they of the nature and the number of their valiant countrymen. The *burgher cavalry*, a militia of country boors, who were then in the vicinity of the town, were immediately called out, and a few hundreds reluctantly obeyed the summons. The conduct and the cowardice of this undisciplined rabble, whose martial spirit had hitherto been tried only in their expeditions against the native Hottentots, might easily have been foreseen. A few shot from the America, man of war, striking the rocks of Muysenberg, soon cleared that important pass, and caused the regular troops to retreat to Wynberg, a tongue of land projecting from the east side of the Table.

ble Mountain, and about eight miles from Cape Town: the Hottentot corps still loitered about the rocks, and did some mischief, but being speedily dislodged, fell back also upon Wynberg; but the brave burgher cavalry scampered away to their respective homes without once stopping to look behind them.

The British troops, led on by General Sir James Craig, under the orders of Sir Alured Clarke, marched to attack the enemy on their elevated post; and by the assistance of the sailors, having brought his guns and artillery to bear upon them, a few shot caused them to retreat within their lines. The English encamped on the spot from which they had dislodged the enemy; who, finding it vain longer to oppose a feeble resistance, sent, in the middle of the night, a flag of truce to propose a capitulation, which was acceded to; and the next day concluded between the two parties. Most of the members of the government that were well disposed to the Prince of Orange, and had conducted themselves with propriety, were continued in office; and thus the plans of the Jacobin party were, for the present, completely defeated.

When the news of this event first reached England, the acquisition of so valuable a settlement was considered of the utmost importance to the British empire, and particularly to the East India Company, as being a barrier and grand out-work to their vast possessions in India. So forcibly was the public impressed with an opinion of the great advantages that might be derived to the nation at large from the possession of the Cape, that the

question was immediately started and discussed among persons entrusted with the management of the first political and commercial interests of the empire, under what tenure it should be held. Whether the Cape ought to be considered as a foreign dependency of the crown, and subject to the same regulations as all the other colonies are; or, annexed to the possessions under the administration of the East India Company? Those who held the latter opinion quoted the charter granted by Queen Elizabeth, by which the Company are allowed the privilege of a free and sole trade into the countries of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Buona Esperanza, to the Streights of Magellan. Those, who were inclined to think that the charters of the East India Company gave them no claim to the Cape, brought forward the charter they received from Charles the Second, in which no mention whatever is made of Africa.

While these questions were in agitation, two general plans floated in the mind of Mr. Dundas (now Lord Melville); both of which were so conceived as to combine the interests of the public with those of the East India Company. One of these plans supposed the Cape to be a foreign dependency of the crown, and included such provisions and regulations as were compatible with the interests and the chartered privileges of the East India Company: the other invested the territorial possession in the East India Company, but proposed such regulations as were calculated to promote the general commercial prosperity of the British empire. And, in the mean time, until one or other of these plans should be adopted, the settlement was to be

be considered as dependent on the Crown, to be administered by the executive power, as constitutionally responsible to Parliament.

Every precaution was also taken that the rights and privileges of the East India Company should suffer no infringement. The exclusive advantage of supplying the Cape with India and China goods was immediately and unconditionally granted to them. And the regulations adopted in consequence, by the Earl of Macartney, and the vigilance that was constantly employed under his government, prevented and defeated every attempt to undermine their interests, and were productive of a source of considerable profit to the Company.

It was, in fact, the well known integrity of his Lordship's character, and the able and decided measures employed by him, on various trying occasions, for promoting and combining the interests of the East India Company with the honour of the Crown, and the commercial prosperity of the British empire, that determined the minister in his choice of him as governor for this important acquisition: and his Lordship was accordingly nominated without his knowledge, whilst absent on public service in Italy.

As little doubt was entertained, at that time, either by his Majesty's ministers or the public, that the Cape would become, at a general peace, a settlement in perpetuity to England, great pains were employed in drawing up instructions and in framing
regula-

regulations that were calculated to promote the prosperity of the colony, secure the interests of the East India Company, and extend the commerce and navigation of Britain. Its importance, indeed, was deemed of such magnitude, that it was a resolution of the minister from which he never meant to recede, "That no foreign power, directly or indirectly, should obtain possession of the Cape of Good Hope, for, that it was the *physical guarantee of the British territories in India.*" Its political importance could be doubted by none; its commercial advantages were believed by all.

Yet, after every precaution that had been employed for securing the privileges, increasing the conveniency, and promoting the interests, of the East India Company in this settlement, it would seem that an inclination prevailed in some of its directors to disparage or undervalue it. What their motives could have been, which led to such an opinion, I do not pretend to determine; nor is there any reason to suppose that a body of men, who have always been remarkable for acting upon the broad basis of national prosperity, would, in the present instance, deviate from their usual line of conduct, and bend to the influence of any little jealousy about patronage or prerogative, when the welfare of the public was so nearly concerned. The opinions of men, it is true, when grounded on moral events, are fugitive, and yield to circumstances: it were difficult, however, to assign any event or circumstance that could have operated so as to produce any reasonable grounds for a change in the opinion of the directors of the East India Company, in the course of

of the last twenty years, with regard to the value of the Cape of Good Hope: many have occurred to enhance its importance.

That they did consider it of the utmost consequence, towards the end of the American war, their own conduct will sufficiently testify. The moment that a Dutch war was found to be inevitable, towards the close of the year 1780, Lord North, whose sentiments on this point were in perfect agreement with those of the directors, lost no time in communicating to the secret committee of the East India Company the information of it; in order, that they might take or suggest such measures, without delay, as the event might render most conducive to their interests. The chairman and deputy chairman, who, if I mistake not, at that time, were Mr. Devaynes and Mr. Sullivan, lost not a moment in consulting with such of their officers as happened to be then in London, and were supposed to be qualified to give good information. The result of which was, that the first and only measure proposed for the advantage of the East India Company's concerns was, in the event of a Dutch war, that an expedition should instantly be sent out to take possession of the Cape of Good Hope; a proposal that met the concurrence of the minister, and of which the result was the squadron dispatched under the command of Commodore Johnston, who carried under his convoy their outward-bound fleet; fought an indecisive battle with Suffrein in Porta Praya Bay, which enabled the French to reach the Cape of Good Hope, and to place it in such a state of security that the Commodore did not think it prudent to make the attack, but contented himself

self with the capture of a few Dutch Indiamen in Saldanha Bay; whilst the French Admiral, having refitted and refreshed his squadron at the Cape, proceeded to Mauritius, and from thence to the Indian Seas with his ships and men in the highest order; a circumstance that was attended with no small degree of detriment and annoyance to the trade and possessions of the East India Company, as well as of expence and inconvenience to the Crown. For the failure, in the grand object of this expedition, not only gave the enemy the vast advantage of landing and refreshing their seamen and troops, who were soon recruited by the invigorating effects of a temperate climate and abundance of fresh provisions, fruits, and vegetables, but it likewise enabled him to keep a fleet almost constantly at sea, by the provisions and naval stores it received from the Cape through Mauritius by agents residing there. Their own islands of Mauritius and Bourbon furnish no such supply, their productions not being adequate to the consumption of the inhabitants and the garrisons.

The French, in fact, have always contrived to refit and provision their ships, and to send their armaments supplied with stores to the Indian Seas from the Cape of Good Hope. Had it not been for the supplies furnished from this settlement, together with the possession of the harbour of Trincomalee, it would have been utterly impossible for Suffrein to have supported his fleet, or maintained the contest with us in the manner he did.

It was not, indeed, without a full conviction of its great utility to England, as well as of encumbrance to the Dutch,
by

by the enormous expence it occasioned, that Mr. Dundas was induced, in the considerations on the treaty between Great Britain and Holland, transmitted to the British ambassador at the Hague in 1787, to propose to them the cessions of certain stations in India, which were to them of little weight, either in a political or commercial point of view. The reasoning employed on this occasion was, "That the Cape was invaluable in the hands of a maritime power, being really and truly the key to India, which no hostile fleet could pass or re-pass, as the length of the previous voyage, either from India or Europe, must have disabled such a fleet, in a certain degree, before it could reach the Cape—that it was the interest of Holland itself that the Cape and Trincomalée should belong to Great Britain; because Holland must either be the ally of Britain or of France in India; and because Great Britain only can be an useful ally of Holland in the east—that the Dutch were not able to protect their settlements in that quarter, and Britain fully competent to their protection—that the Cape and Trincomalée were not commercial establishments, and that the maintenance of them was burthensome and expensive to the Dutch—but that the force required to protect the British Indian possessions, would render the defence of the Dutch settlements much less so to Britain."

The Earl of Macartney was not less convinced of the policy, nor less persuaded of the readiness of the Dutch, to leave the Cape in our hands, provided they were allowed to have a choice of their own. In his letter to Mr. Dundas, dated Oc-

tober 1797, he observes, "The power and influence of Hol-
" land appear to me so irretrievable, that it is impossible she can
" ever again hold an independent possession of the Cape. In-
" deed, before the war, she was neither rich enough to main-
" tain its establishments, nor strong enough to govern its peo-
" ple, and, I believe, had it not been for our conquest of the
" country, it would soon have attempted to become inde-
" pendent. As Holland is likely to be in future less powerful
" at home, and consequently less respectable abroad, and as the
" Cape would be a burthen to her, not easy to bear, it would
" not be against her interest to leave it in our hands, for in
" such case she might derive, without any expence, all the ad-
" vantages of its original intention, which was that of a place of
" refreshment for her commerce to the eastward; and there are
" other circumstances which, were she now in a situation dispa-
" sionately to consider, I have reason to imagine, would lead
" her to adopt this sentiment. The French (who, to speak of
" them in the language of truth and experience, and not in the
" jargon of pretended Cosmopolites, are, and ever must be, our
" natural enemies) can only wish to have the Cape either in
" their own hands, or in those of a weak power, that they may
" use it as an instrument towards our destruction; as a channel
" for pouring through it an irresistible deluge upon our Indian
" possessions to the southward of the Guadavery. Of this I am
" so perfectly convinced, that if it shall be found impracticable
" for us to retain the sovereignty of the Cape, and the French
" are to become the masters of it, either *per se*, *aut per alium*,
" then we must totally alter our present system, and adopt such
" measures

“measures as will shut them out of India entirely, and render the possession of the Cape and of the Isles of France and Bourbon of as little use to them as possible.”

Whatever might have been the feelings of the Dutch with regard to the Cape, under the old government, I am authorized to say that Holland never did expect, and scarcely wished for, the restoration of this colony at a peace; well knowing that they would be allowed from the English to enjoy the advantages of refreshing and provisioning their ships, without the expence of keeping it. They would have been glad even to have declared it a *free port*, under any flag except their own. But the only power that Holland possessed, in framing the treaty of peace, was a mere name; and all the territories that were nominally restored to the Batavian Republic were virtually given up to France.

I have stated thus much with regard to the opinions that have hitherto been held of the importance of the Cape of Good Hope to the British trade and settlements in India, at a time when we were made to feel the inconvenience of its being in the possession of an enemy, or even of a neutral power, because a very sensible change of opinion appears to have taken place from the very moment it became a dependency on the British crown. For it is very certain that the directors of the East India Company did not only assume an affected indifference, with regard to this settlement, but endeavoured to discourage the retention of it in the strongest terms they possibly could have thought of, by shewing and proving to the world, as they imagined they

had done, that the possession of the Cape was of no use whatsoever to their commerce, or their concerns in India. For this apparently absurd purpose the commanders of all the ships in their employ were forbid, in the most positive terms, to touch at the Cape, either in their outward or their homeward bound passage, except such, on the return voyage, as were destined to supply the settlement with Indian goods.

The strength and constitution of English seamen, corroborated by wholesome food, will support them on a passage from India to England, shortened as it now is by the modern improvements in the art of navigation, without the necessity of touching at any intermediate port. But this is not the case with regard to the Lascars, or natives of India, who, in time of war, constitute frequently more than two-thirds of the crew. These poor creatures, whose chief sustenance is rice, oil, and vegetables, are ill calculated to suffer a long privation of their usual diet, and still less to bear the cold of the southern ocean, especially in the winter season. By them the Cape was looked up to as a half-way house, where a stock of fresh supplies was to be had, and where the delay of a few days had a wonderful effect in recruiting their health and spirits. And the event shewed that such a half-way house, to such people, was indispensibly necessary; for the directors were obliged to countermand their order as far as it regarded those ships that were navigated by the black natives of India.

Whenever it has happened that government was under the necessity of sending out troops in ships navigated by Lascars, a greater

greater degree of sickness and mortality has prevailed than in ships entirely manned by Europeans; and under such circumstances it would be highly criminal to attempt to run from Europe to India without stopping at some intermediate port, not only to procure refreshments for the troops and Lascars, but to clean and fumigate the ships in order to prevent contagious diseases. The two Boy regiments, as they are usually called, the 22d and 34th, which it was necessary to send to the Cape as a reinforcement of the garrison, after the able and effective men had been sent away to Madras, who soon after so materially assisted in the conquest of Seringapatam, arrived in a very sickly state at the Cape. Yet the same ships, after being properly washed, scoured, and fumigated, and the crews completely refreshed, carried on other troops to their destination without the loss of a single man.

How far the conduct of the directors was compatible with the interests of the East India Company, who have consigned them to their management, I shall endeavour to point out in the course of this and the following chapters; the design of which is, by general reasoning, grounded on facts, to appreciate the advantages that would have resulted to the British nation in general, and to the East India Company in particular, from annexing the Cape to the foreign possessions of England; and the serious consequences that may ensue from its being in the possession of an enemy. Opinions on this subject, it seems, widely differ; on which account a fair and impartial statement of such circumstances as may tend to elucidate a doubtful point,

point, can do no harm, and may, perhaps, ultimately be productive of good, by assisting those, to whose care the best interests of the country are committed, to form their judgment on facts locally collected, and brought in some order together under one point of view. It is important to premise that such facts were either taken from authentic and official documents, or fell immediately under my own observation.

I proceed then, in the first place, to consider the Cape of Good Hope in the view of a military station; by which is not only implied a garrison to act for the defence of the settlement, but likewise a depôt, or place suitable for collecting and forming, so as always to have in readiness, a body of troops, either belonging to his Majesty's regular regiments, or to the armies of the East India Company, fitted and prepared for foreign service, and seasoned for the climates either of the East or the West Indies.

A very general notion seems to have been entertained in this country in all our former wars, by people who consider only the outlines or superficialities of things, and such, by the way, constitute by far the largest portion of mankind, that if the minister can contrive to furnish money, the money will supply men, and these men will form an army. It is true they will so; just as a collection of oak timber brought to a dock-yard will form a ship. But a great deal of labour is necessary in the seasoning, hewing, and shaping of such timber, and a great deal of judgment and practice still required to arrange and adapt the several parts

parts to each other, so that they may act in concert together, and form a complete whole that shall be capable of performing all the effects that were intended to be produced. Thus is it also in the formation of an army. It is not enough to collect together a body of men and to put arms into their hands. They must be classed and arranged, seasoned and inured to a certain way of life; exercised in certain motions and positions of the body, until long practice has rendered them habitual and easy; they must be taught to act in an uniform and simultaneous movement, and in such a manner that the separate action of the individuals shall form one united impulse, producing the greatest possible effect of aggregated strength. They must also be taught to preserve their health and strength by habits of temperance and cleanliness, and to take care of themselves in the various circumstances that may occur of situation and climate.

Such a body of men, so formed and prepared, may properly be called soldiers. And no small degree of attention and judgment is required to bring a body of men to such a state of discipline. Yet it is highly important that all troops, intended to be sent on foreign service, should at least be partly formed, and instructed in the art of taking proper care of themselves, previous to their embarkation. Being once accustomed to habits of cleanliness and regularity, they are less liable to fall a sacrifice to the close confinement and want of room in a ship; and the inconveniences of a long sea voyage will always be less felt by persons thus prepared than by raw undisciplined recruits, who are apt to be heedless, slovenly, and irregular.

But

But even old seasoned troops, after a long sea-voyage, are generally found to be disqualified, during a considerable time, for any great exertion. The tone or elasticity of the mind has become relaxed as well as the habit of body. Let any one recollect how he felt after a long sea-voyage, and ask himself if he were capable of the same exertion, and of undergoing the same fatigue, immediately after landing as before his embarkation. The answer, I fancy, will be in the negative. The limbs, in fact, require to be exercised in order to regain their usual motions, and the lungs must have practice before they will play with their usual freedom in the chest. And these effects, adverse to prompt and energetic action, will generally be proportioned to the length of the voyage, and the privations to which men must necessarily submit.

The very able and intelligent writers of the *Précis des évènements militaires*, or *Epitome of military events*, seem to ascribe the defeat of the Russian column, commanded by General Hermann, in the affair at Bergen, where it was almost cut to pieces, to their marching against the enemy immediately after landing from a sea-voyage, although it had not been very long. They observe that, “by being crowded on board transports, and other inconveniences experienced at sea, not only a considerable number of individuals are weakened to such a degree that they are incapable of any service, but whole corps sometimes present the same disadvantages—the extreme inequality of strength that, in such cases, prevails between the individuals or constituent parts of corps, is, at once, destructive of their aggregated and combined impulse.”

If

If then such be the effects produced on seasoned troops, on a sea-voyage of moderate length, they must be doubly felt by young recruits unaccustomed to the necessary precautions for preserving their health. In fact, a raw recruit, put on board a ship in England, totally unformed and undisciplined, will be much farther from being a soldier, when he arrives in India, than when he first stepped on board. The odds are great that he dies upon the passage, or that he arrives under incurable disease. And, indeed, of those who may chance to arrive in tolerable health, a great proportion dies in the seasoning, from the debilitating effects of a hot climate. India is, perhaps, the worst place in the whole world for forming an European recruit into a soldier. Unable to bear the fatigue of being exercised, his spirits are moreover depressed by observing how little exertion men of the same rank and condition as himself are accustomed to make. It cannot, therefore, be denied that, as long as it shall be found necessary to recruit our large armies in India with European troops, it would be a most desirable object to be in possession of some middle station to break the length of the sea-voyage; a station which at the same time enjoyed a middle temperature of climate, between the extremes of heat and cold, to season the body and adapt it to sustain an increased quantity of the one or the other.

The Cape of Good Hope eminently points out such a station. Its geographical position on the globe is so commanding a feature, that the bare inspection of a map, without any other information, must at once obtrude its importance and value in this as well as many other respects. Its distance from the coast

of Brazil is the voyage of a month; from the Dutch colonies of Surinam, Demarara, Berbice, and Effiquebo, with the West India islands, six weeks; the same to the Red Sea; and two months to the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. With the east and the west coasts of Africa and the adjacent islands, it commands a ready communication at all seasons of the year. A place so situated, just half way between England and India, in a temperate and wholesome climate, and productive of refreshments of every description, would naturally be supposed to hold out such irresistible advantages to the East India Company, not only by its happy position and local ascendancy, but also by the means it affords of opening a new market and intermediate depositary for their trade and commodities, that they would have been glad to purchase, at any price, an acquisition of such immense importance; and that such great advantages, however they might be blinked by some or unknown to others, would speedily have forced a general conviction of their value, in spite of real ignorance or affected indifference.

One might also have supposed that the possession of the Cape of Good Hope would have suggested itself to the East India Company as a place which would have removed many, if not all, of the difficulties that occurred to them, on the renewal of their privileges in 1793, when a depôt for their recruits in Britain was in contemplation. The principal regulations proposed for such depositary of troops, as contained in "*Historic View of Plans for British India*," were the following:—"That the age of the Company's recruits should be from twelve to fifteen or twenty, because at this period of life, the constitution was
" found

“ found to accommodate itself most easily to the different variations of climate—that the officers of the police should be empowered to transfer to the depôt all such helpless and indigent youths as might be found guilty of misdemeanors and irregularities approaching to crimes—that the said officers of police and others should be authorized to engage destitute and helpless young men in a service, where they would have a comfortable subsistence, and an honourable employment—that the young men so procured should be retained in Great Britain, at the depôt, for a certain time, in order to be instructed in such branches of education as would qualify for the duty of a non-commissioned officer, and in those military exercises which form them for immediate service in the regiments in India.”

Now of all the places on the surface of the globe, for the establishment of such a depôt, the Cape of Good Hope is pre-eminently distinguished. In the first place, there would be no difficulty in conveying them thither. In every month of the year, the outward bound ships of the Company, private traders, or whalers, sail from England, and the fewer that each ship carried, the greater the probability would be that none of them should die on the passage. And there is, perhaps, no place on the face of the earth in every respect so suitable as the Cape for forming them into soldiers. It possesses, among other advantages, three that are invaluable; healthiness of climate, cheapness of subsistence, and a favourable situation for speedy intercourse with most parts of the world, and particularly with India. I shall make a few remarks on each of these points.

With regard to the healthiness of climate, I do not consider it as necessary to the present subject to give copies of the regular returns of deaths in the several regiments that, for the last seven years, have been stationed at the Cape of Good Hope. Such dry details furnish very little of the useful and less of the agreeable. They might, indeed, serve to shew, on a comparison with other returns sent in from different foreign stations, how very trifling has been the mortality of troops in this settlement. It will be sufficient, however, for my purpose to observe, that Lord Macartney, in order to save a vast and unnecessary expence to the public, found it expedient to break up the hospital staff, which, in fact, was become perfectly useless, there being at that time no sick whatsoever in the general hospital, and so few as scarcely worth the noticing in the regimental hospitals; and the surgeons of the regiments acknowledged that those few under their care were the victims of intemperance and irregularity. At this time the strength of the garrison consisted of more than five thousand men.

Shortly after the capture, it is true, a considerable sickness prevailed among the British troops, and great numbers died, a circumstance that was noticed, and at the same time fully explained, by General Sir James Craig in his letter to Mr. Dundas, about three months after the cession of the colony. He observes that the soldiers of the Dutch East India Company were obliged to furnish their own bedding and blankets, as well as the necessary garrison and camp furniture; so that, when the Dutch entered into the capitulation, not a single article of garrison furniture could be claimed; and the shops, at that time, furnishing

nishing no such materials, the men were obliged to sleep on the bare flag-stones in the great barrack, until a supply of blankets and camp utensils of every kind could be sent out from England.

Invalids from India recover very quickly at the Cape. The servants of the East India Company are allowed to proceed thus far on leave of absence without prejudice to their rank; and here they generally experience a speedy recovery. The two Boy regiments, whom I have already mentioned to have suffered severely on the passage from England in ships navigated by Lascars, and who landed in fact on the height of a malignant and contagious disease, rapidly recovered; and, in the course of two years, from being a parcel of weakly boys, unable to carry a musquet, became two very fine regiments, fit for service in any part of the world. When the orders, indeed, for the final evacuation of the Cape were countermanded, the 34th regiment, which two years before had excited the pity of every one who saw them, enfeebled as they were by disease, and unfit, from their tender years, for the fatigues of soldiers, was now a very essential part of the strength of the garrison.

It may, therefore, I think, be safely concluded, that the climate of the Cape is not only salubrious, but that it is particularly favourable for forming young and raw recruits into soldiers. And it would appear, moreover, that the salutary effects of this climate are not merely local, but that their seasoning efficacy is extended beyond the hemisphere of Southern Africa, and qualifies, in a very remarkable manner, the raw recruit,
and

and the seasoned soldier for the climate of India, and the still more trying situation of the voyage thither. The constitution would seem to acquire, by a few years residence at the Cape, a strength and vigour which not only enabled it to surmount the inconveniences of the sea, but, contrary to what usually happens, to sustain the fatigue of long and continued marches in a hot climate, immediately after debarkation.

The truth of this observation was made evident by a number of instances that occurred during the seven years that the Cape remained in our possession; but in none more strongly than that, in the government of Lord Macartney, when three almost complete regiments of infantry, the 84th, the 86th, and the Scotch brigade, were embarked and sent off, at a few days' notice, under the command of Major-General Baird, to join the army of India against Tippoo Sultaun. This reinforcement, consisting of upwards of two thousand men in their shoes, arrived to a man, and in the highest state of health; took the field the day after their landing; marched into the Mysore country; co-operated with the Indian army, and contributed very materially towards the conquest of Seringapatam. The very man (Major-General Baird), under whose command they sailed from the Cape but a few months before, led them on to storm this celebrated capital of the Mysore kingdom.

One might have supposed that the facility and success of throwing reinforcements into India, exemplified in this remarkable instance, would have stamped on the minds of the directors an indelible value on the Cape. "By possessing and
" im-

“improving the advantages of seasoning and preparing our
“troops at the Cape,” observes Lord Macartney in his letter to
Lord Melville on the importance of the Cape, dated April the
25th, 1801, “I had it in my power, almost at a moment’s no-
“tice, to send to Madras, under the command of Major-Gener-
“ral Baird, about two thousand effective men in the highest
“health, vigour, and discipline, who eminently contributed to
“the capture of Seringapatam, and the total subversion of the
“power of Tippoo.”

It did not seem, however, to have made any such impression
on the East India Company; at least their conduct and opinions
indicated no change in consequence of it. Nor could their in-
flexible indifference be roused by the multiplied instances which
clearly demonstrated the importance of having a suitable station
for the seasoning and training of young troops to act, on any
emergency and at a short notice, in their service, and for the
protection of their vast possessions in India. Had not the in-
stance above recited been considered as sufficient to stamp its
value, the reinforcement of troops that was sent from the Cape,
to accompany the expedition of Sir Home Popham to the Red
Sea, one might have thought would have forced a full conviction
of the importance of such a station. On this occasion were em-
barked, at almost a moment’s warning, twelve hundred effective
men, composed of detachments of artillery, cavalry, and in-
fantry, who all arrived to a man, at Cossir, a port in the Red
Sea, from whence they were found capable of immediately sus-
taining long and fatiguing marches, notwithstanding the heat
of the climate, the heaviness of the ground, and the scarcity of
water.

water. The 61st regiment, Sir Robert Wilson observes, landed at Cossir after having been near sixteen weeks on board, without having one sick man, though the strength of the regiment exceeded nine hundred men.

A thousand difficulties, it appears, were started in England with regard to the sailing of this expedition, by people who derive their information only from defective books and not from local knowledge. The season of the Monsoon was stated to be unfavourable for the navigation of the Red Sea, and the deserts by which it was bordered were held to be totally impassable. But to vigorous and determined minds few things are insurmountable. "The man (Lord Melville) who projected, and "persevered in, the expedition to Egypt," saw very clearly that the expedition to the Red Sea could not fail under proper caution and management, and the event proved that he was right.

Having thus sufficiently shewn, as I conceive, the importance of the Cape as a military station, or depositary of troops, with regard to the healthiness of the climate, and the effects produced on the constitution of soldiers, by being seasoned and exercised a short time there, I shall now proceed to state the comparative small expence at which the soldier can be subsisted on this station, and the saving that must necessarily ensue both to Government and the East India Company, by sending their recruits to the Cape to be trained for service either in the East or the West Indies.

The

The Cape of Good Hope is the only military station that we have possessed of late years, where government was enabled to make a saving by feeding the soldier. What I mean by this is, where the ration, or settled proportion of victuals, could be furnished for a sum of money less than that which is stopped out of his pay in consideration of it. In other parts of the globe, government is a very considerable loser by feeding the soldier; that is to say, his ration must be purchased for a sum of money more than that which is deducted from his pay. The government consents to this loss for the accommodation of the soldier, who, on most stations, could not possibly subsist on his pay, on account of the dearness of provisions. At the Cape of Good Hope each ration cost the government something less than sixpence, which was the amount of the stoppage deducted in lieu of it. At home, and in different parts abroad, as I have been informed, the ration stands the government in different sums from tenpence to half-a-crown.

At the Cape of Good Hope, some twenty years ago, two pound of butchers' meat cost one penny; at the capture by the English the price had advanced to one pound for twopence; yet, notwithstanding the increased demand, occasioned by the addition of five thousand troops and near three thousand seamen, frequently more than this number, with all the various attempts and combinations that were practised (and, on a certain occasion in the year 1800, very unwisely countenanced by high authority,) to raise the price of this article, the contract for supplying the garrison was never higher than at the rate of two and five-eighths pounds for sixpence. Two pounds of good

wholesome bread might be generally purchased for twopence. Even in the midst of a scarcity, which threatened a famine, bread rose no higher than twopence the pound; and all kinds of fruit and vegetables are so abundant, and so cheap, as to be within the reach of the poorest person. A pint of good sound wine may be procured for threepence; and, were it not for the circumstance of the licence for selling wine by retail being farmed out as one source of the colonial revenue, a pint of the same wine would cost little more than three-halfpence.

This farming out the wine licence was a subject of grievance to the soldier, as it compelled him to buy his wine in small quantities at the licensed houses, when the civilians and housekeepers were allowed to purchase it in casks of twenty gallons, at the rate of five or six rix-dollars the cask, which is just about half the retail price he was obliged to pay for it. Yet, vexatious as such a regulation appeared to be, it was still sufficiently cheap to enable the soldier to purchase fully as much as was useful to him. Numbers of the soldiers, indeed, contrived to save money out of their pay. The 91st regiment of Highlanders, in particular, were known to have remitted a good deal of money to their families in Scotland; and many of the serjeants of the different regiments, at the evacuation of the colony, had saved from one to two hundred pounds in hard money.

In the year 1800 the government, in order to bring a little more money into the treasury from the wine licence, directed, by proclamation, that the retail sellers should demand from the soldier the increased price of eightpence the bottle, instead of
fix-

fixpence, which, however, they had prudence enough to decline. The sum brought into the government treasury by tolerating this monopoly, averaged about seventy thousand rix-dollars annually. But in the event of the Cape falling again into our hands, which sooner or later must happen, if it be an object to secure our Indian possessions, it would be wise to supply this part of the revenue by some other means.

Government likewise derived other profits besides those which accrued from the cheapness of the rations. The Deputy Paymaster-General drew bills on his Majesty's Paymasters-General in England, in exchange for the paper currency of the colony, in which all the contingent and extraordinary expences of the garrison were paid. These bills, except in the first few months when there was not yet any demand for remittances, and when, perhaps, their credit was not fully established in the minds of the Dutch, always bore a premium against the paper, varying from five to thirty per cent., but fixed, for the greatest part of the time, at twenty per cent. They would, indeed, have advanced to a much higher rate; for the merchant, unable to make his remittances to any great extent in colonial produce, or in India goods, which, if permitted, might have been injurious to the interests of the East India Company, was under the necessity of purchasing these bills. Lord Macartney, however, considered it expedient to fix the premium at twenty per cent., deeming it right that government bills should bear the highest premium of bills that might be in the market, but, at the same time, not to proceed to such a height as to become oppressive either to the merchant or the public: So that if the ration was supplied to

government for fivepence-halfpenny in paper currency, the real cost was little more than fourpence-halfpenny.

The amount of bills drawn for the contingent and extraordinary expences of the army, from the 1st of October 1795, when the colony was taken, to the 28th of July 1802, the time it should have been evacuated, as appears from the Deputy Paymaster's books, is 1,045,814 *l.* 14 *s.* 1 *d.* upon part of which (for part was drawn at par for specie) the profit derived to his Majesty's government amounts to the sum of 115,719 *l.* 3 *s.* 1 *d.*

Another source of profit, which might have been very considerable, was derived from the importation of specie. The subsistence of the soldiers, it may be observed, was always paid in hard money, and not in paper currency. The Spanish dollar was issued in payment to the troops at the rate of five shillings sterling, which I imagine might have been purchased and sent out at four shillings and fourpence each, making thus a profit of more than fifteen per cent. on the pay, as well as on the extraordinaries, of the army. The sum that was thus imported amounted to 103,426 *l.* 18 *s.* 3 *d.* Upon which, supposing the whole sent out by government, which I understand was not exactly the case, though nearly so, the profits must have been 15,514 *l.* at home, besides an additional profit of 710 *l.* 13 *s.* 3 *d.* arising from a small quantity of specie bought in the Cape. The government also sent out about four thousand pounds of copper money, in penny pieces, which were circulated at twopence, from which there was consequently another profit derived of 4000 *l.*

Shortly after the capture of the Cape, General Craig, finding it impossible to raise, upon bills, a sufficient sum of paper currency to defray the extraordinaries of the army, was reduced to the bold measure of stamping a new paper issue, on the credit of the British government, to the amount of fifty thousand pounds; a sum that was never redeemed from circulation, nor brought to any account, until the final restoration of the colony. So that the interest of this sum for seven years produced a further profit to government of 17,500*l*.

By taking these sums together, namely,

Profit on bills drawn	-	£. 115,719	3	1
— on specie imported	-	16,224	13	3
— on copper money	-	4,000	0	0
— on paper money circulated	-	17,500	0	0
We have		£. 153,443	16	4

which may be considered as a clear gain to the government, (independent of the saving on each ration) and, consequently, a lessening of the expenditure that was occasioned at the Cape of Good Hope.

As this expenditure has been stated to be so enormous, as more than to counterbalance the advantages resulting from the possession of the settlement, and we have already seen how important these advantages are, when considered in only one point of view, it may not be amiss to point out, in as correct a manner as the nature of the subject will admit, the exact sum expended

expended in any one year, in the military department, at the Cape of Good Hope. The year I shall take is from May 1797 to May 1798, when the garrison was strongest; consisting of

The 8th 28th	} Light Dragoons.
The 84th 86th 91st	
Scotch Brigade	} Infantry.

In that year the estimate was made up according to the following extract:

1. Subsistence of the non-commissioned officers and privates of the two regiments of dragoons and four regiments of infantry, for one year, according to the new rate of payment, deducting for rations and hospital charges,	55,729	2	6
2. Clothing and contingent expences for ditto,	28,133	13	2
3. Full pay of the commissioned officers of two regiments of dragoons, and four regiments of infantry for one year, according to the latest regulations,	43,667	14	8
4. Staff officers and hospital establishment of one inspector, two physicians, one purveyor, four surgeons, two apothecaries, and nine hospital mates,	11,178	2	6
Carried forward	£. 138,708	12	10

Brought forward		£. 138,708	12	10
5. Commissary-General's department, including engineers, which alone amounts to 17,225 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i>	- - -	107,794	10	11
6. Ordnance department, including artillery expences,	- - -	18,536	14	4
7. Deputy Quarter-Master General's Department, including lodging money to officers, which amounts to about 4000 <i>l.</i> and bat and forage for 200 days about 6000 <i>l.</i> in the whole	- - -	25,000	0	0
Total amount of one year's expence		£. 290,039	18	1

Or, we may, perhaps, be able to come still nearer the truth by taking the total expenditure of the whole seven years, thus:

Amount of bills drawn by the Deputy Paymaster-General for paper and specie, for the pay and subsistence of the non-commissioned officers and privates, and for the extraordinaries of the army for seven years	- - -	1,045,814	14	1
Specie imported and bought (about)	-	111,000	0	0
Clothing and contingent expences at the rate as above specified per year	- - -	196,935	12	2
Full pay of the commissioned officers of six regiments, as above, for seven years	-	305,674	2	8
Ordnance department for seven years	-	129,757	0	4
Total amount		£. 1,789,181	9	3
which				

which total amount, divided by seven, gives 255,597*l.* 7*s.* 0*d.* for the annual average expence incurred in the military department at the Cape of Good Hope. But it would be the height of absurdity to say, that even this sum, moderate as it is, was an additional expence to Government in consequence of the capture of this settlement; since it is not only composed of the expences of maintaining the garrison, and the contingencies and extraordinaries of the army, but it includes, likewise, the pay, the subsistence, and the clothing of an army of five thousand men. Now as these troops must have been fed, clothed, and paid in any other place, as well as at the Cape of Good Hope, and as I have shewn, at a much greater expence, it is certainly not fair to charge this sum to the account of the garrison of the Cape. Even in peace the commissioned officers would have received their half pay, which alone would amount to a sum from 100,000*l.* to 150,000*l.*

There is little reason, therefore, in reality, for considering the Cape in the light of an expensive settlement. In fact, the sums of money, that have been expended there, dwindle into nothing upon a comparison with some of the West India islands, whose importance are a feather when weighed against that of the Cape of Good Hope. Viewing it only as a point of security to our Indian possessions, and as a nursery for maturing raw recruits into complete soldiers, the question of expence falls to the ground. Of the several millions that are annually raised for the support of government at home, and its dependencies abroad, a small fraction of one of these millions may surely be allowed for

for the maintenance of a station whose advantages are incalculable.

But the article of expence, trifling even in war, could be no object whatsoever in time of peace. The fortifications, which were in the most ruinous condition when the place was taken, being finished in a complete manner, would require no further expence than that of merely keeping the works in repair, which might amount, perhaps, to an annual sum of five thousand pounds. The contingencies and extraordinaries of the army could not, at the utmost, amount to twenty thousand pounds; so that twenty-five or thirty thousand pounds would be the extent of the contingent and extraordinary expences of the Cape in time of peace; a sum that, by proper management, and a prudent application of the revenues of the colony, might easily be defrayed out of the public treasury there, and leave a surplus adequate to all the demands of the civil department, together with the necessary repairs of public works and buildings.

The manner in which I calculate is thus: from a review of the colonial revenues, I find that the average in the Dutch Government in ten years, from 1784 to 1794 was little more than 100,000 rix dollars yearly, but that by the regulations and new imposts made by the Dutch Commissaries General in 1793, the amount in the following year was 211,568 rix dollars. They afterwards experienced a considerable increase, and from the first year of Lord Macartney's administration they rose gradually as follows:

From the 1st Oct. 1797 to the 30th Sept. 1798, they were *R. d.* 322,512 7 5
 1st ditto 1798 to ditto 1799 360,312 0 0
 1st ditto 1799 to ditto 1800 369,596 0 0
 1st ditto 1800 to ditto 1801 450,713 2 4

And it is here not unworthy of notice, that from the moment of the preliminaries of peace being known they fell, the last year's produce, being only

From 1st Oct. 1801 to 30th Sept 1802 - 389,901 6 0

And in the following year, as far of it as was expired, they were still less productive.

In this state of progressive improvement, under the British Government, without a single additional tax being laid, but on the contrary, some taken off, and others modified, arrears of land-rent remitted and again accumulating, I think, without any danger of exaggeration, we might reckon upon a net annual revenue of half a million rix dollars, or one hundred thousand pounds currency. The annual average expenditure, including salaries and contingencies of departments, with the necessary repairs of public works and buildings, were, under the administrations of Lord Macartney and Lieutenant-General Dundas, at the most about 300,000 rix dollars or 60,000 £. Suppose then the contingencies and extraordinaries of the army to be 30,000 £. the whole sum required would be 90,000 £. or 450,000 rix dollars, the exact amount of the colonial revenue at the close of the year 1801.

The

The point of view, in which the importance of the Cape next presents itself to our consideration, is its local position, as being favourable for distributing troops to any part of the globe, and especially to our settlements in the east, with facility and dispatch; which is by no means the least among the advantages it possesses as a military station. For however important to a depôt of troops the benefits may be that result from a healthy climate, and cheapness of subsistence, their value would be materially diminished by great distance from, or difficulty of conveyance to, such places where their services may be wanted.

The longer the voyage the less effective will the troops be on their arrival, and delay is dangerous even to a proverb. Perhaps it is not saying too much, that we are indebted to the Cape for the conquest of Mysore and the overthrow of Tippoo; not merely from the reinforcements sent from thence to join the Indian army, though they eminently contributed to the conquest of Seringapatam, but from the vigilance of Lord Macartney in detecting the transactions of the Sultaun's agents at the Isle of France, of which, at that time, they were ignorant in India, and the active measures he took to communicate speedy intelligence thereof to the Governor-General of Bengal. "I received," the Marquis of Wellesley observes, in his dispatch to the Court of Directors, "on the 18th of June 1798, a regular authentication of the proclamation (of the Governor of the Isle of France) in a letter from his Excellency the Earl of Macartney, dated the 28th of March." And he acted, on

this intelligence, with that prudence, promptitude, and spirit, for which the character of the noble Marquis is so eminently distinguished. The object of Tippoo was to gain time in order that he might strengthen his position and augment his forces. But the rapid movement of our troops towards his capital, as soon as his hostile views were confirmed, frustrated his plans, and effected the total subversion of his country. Both the moment of attack and the reinforcement from the Cape were acknowledged to be important; in either of which a failure might have proved fatal to the campaign, and would, at all events, have postponed the day of victory.

The almost incredible celerity, with which twelve hundred effective men joined the Egyptian army in high health and spirits from the Cape of Good Hope, is another instance that must force conviction of its vast importance as a military station. Nor are the advantages afforded by its geographical position of acquiring and conveying intelligence with respect to the affairs of neighbouring nations, or of embarking troops, precarious or depending on chance; there being scarcely a week in the year in which English whalers or merchantmen, or ships of neutral powers, do not touch at the Cape, especially on their outward-bound voyage. And most of these are willing to engage as transports.

It appears from the books of the Custom-house, and the returns of the Captain of the port, that there sailed from the Cape

In the India Company were permitted to touch at the Cape. With-

In 1799	103 ships
1800	109 ditto
1801	130 ditto
1802	131 ditto

being, in four years, 473 ships,
besides the men of war and coasting vessels. Of these 82 were
Americans, 66 Danes, 24 Portugueze, 15 from Hamburgh, and
6 Swedes, 4 from Prussia and Bremen, and the rest English.

The Americans, for some years past, have been establishing
a very considerable carrying trade from the eastward on the
ruins of the Dutch commerce, and have acquired no small por-
tion of the India and China trade. The ships of this nation
have always found it convenient to touch at the Cape, partly
for the sake of refreshing their crews, but with a view, at the
same time, of disposing of the whole or any part of their cargo
to advantage. This cargo is generally lumber, or it is composed
of what they quaintly term *notions*, from the great variety and
assortment of goods which they take a fancy, or *notion*, may
succeed. In payment of such a cargo they are glad to get bills
on India for hard money, which they carry to China to purchase
teas, nankeens, and porcelain. From the Cape to India they
are always willing to be employed as transports.

The situation is pretty much the same with regard to the
Danes. But the assistance of neither the one nor the other
could possibly be wanted, provided the numerous fleets of our
East India Company were permitted to touch at the Cape.

With-

Without the least inconvenience to their commercial concerns, these ships might transport from England to the Cape a constant succession of raw recruits to be formed there into complete soldiers, from whence they might take on board as many of the latter as should be wanted to reinforce their vast armaments in India.

In a word, the advantages that England would acquire by retaining possession of this grand out-work of all Asia cannot sufficiently be appreciated. Nor are these advantages to be considered as exclusively confined to England. Other nations trading to the east would share the benefit arising from the Cape as a British colony. During the late war, the Danes, the Swedes, the Hamburgers, and the Americans, were allowed to refresh, and derived every advantage on the same terms as the English. The only distinction was an additional duty of five per cent. on goods brought in foreign bottoms. In all other respects the trade of the Cape was open to them in the same manner as to British subjects. There was no monopoly granted to individuals for serving foreign shipping with provisions and refreshments as was the case under the Dutch government; when it is well known they were obliged to pay at least double the price of the market for every article brought on board. Were France in possession of the Cape there is reason to suppose that, according to the commercial system which her present government was endeavouring to establish, the restrictions she would impose at this important station would amount to a total exclusion of foreign shipping.

To England the Cape is more valuable as a point of effectual security to her Indian trade and settlements than as a place of annoyance to other nations, or as to the means it affords of interrupting their commercial concerns. The unbounded credit of the East India Company, the immensity of its capital employed, the superior quality of British manufactures, and the low rate at which they can be afforded in foreign markets, will always ensure to them the best part of the trade to India and China, and give to England a preference before the other maritime powers of Europe, or that of America. No naval power, therefore, except France, could feel any jealousy, nor entertain reasonable grounds of objection against the Cape becoming a settlement of the British empire; but every one of them are very materially interested, and the Americans more especially, that it should not fall into the hands of France; who would not fail, on every slight occasion, to aim at excluding her numerous ships from the Indian Seas, and endeavour to annihilate her growing commerce in the east; whilst to England, I again repeat it, the Cape is to be considered as chiefly important on account of the advantages it holds forth as a point of security to her valuable possessions in the east, against the designs of an ambitious and implacable enemy.

We have already, indeed, experienced the truth of this remark. The Isles of France and Bourbon were rendered useless to the French during the late war, and incapable of giving to us the least annoyance in the Eastern Seas, from the moment that their ships of war and privateers had been destroyed by our cruizers from the Cape. They were neither able to send troops
to

to these islands from France, nor from thence to India. The trade of the Americans suffered no interruption in the Eastern Seas, nor that of the Portuguese in the Southern Atlantic. In the hands of the French it would have been a point equally convenient for assisting the Spaniards at Rio de la Plata, or attacking the Portuguese at Rio de Janeiro: whilst against us it would have furnished the most effectual means of endangering the security to our Indian trade and settlements.

The possession of this place, at an early period of the war, so completely excluded every hostile power from the Indian Seas, threw so great an increase of commerce into our hands by that exclusion, left us in such quiet and undisturbed dominion in the eastern world, and gave us so many solid advantages unexampled in any former war, that one would suppose it to be a moral impossibility for the East India Company to be unmindful of the source from whence they sprung. But things that are apparently of little value in themselves, are sometimes magnified by intense observation, swell into importance by discussion, and become indispensable by contention; whilst objects of real moment lose their magnitude when slightly viewed, or seen only at a distance, grow little by neglect, and useless without a quarrel.

The French seem to have been aware of the truth of this observation, by avoiding any discussion, in the late negotiation for peace, respecting the importance of the Cape of Good Hope. Their views, no doubt, were well known to our Government, which induced it, in the very first sketch of the conditions of
peace

peace, to propose that the Cape of Good Hope should be restored to the Dutch, or be declared a free port. The latter, however, happened to be just what France could have wished, and it was, therefore, on further consideration, restored in full sovereignty to its ancient possessors. France, finding that her purpose would be completely answered when once it was rescued out of the hands of the English, made no objection to this arrangement. Ceylon she considered as a less important sacrifice, although she knew it to be a much greater to Holland than that of the Cape. The latter has always been an expensive settlement to the Dutch, whilst from the former they derived a considerable revenue. Had the Cape been demanded on the part of England, there can be little doubt the French would have been no less tenacious in rejecting the proposal than they were with regard to Malta; being well convinced that these two possessions, in the hands of England, would be two grand points of security to her Indian empire, of which they have long been so jealous.

I have no intention to discuss the comparative importance of these two stations to England, considering them both to be essentially necessary to her independence as well as to the protection of her commerce and settlements, so long as the restless and aggrandizing spirit of the French Government shall continue to disturb the peace of Europe. It may not, however, be improper to endeavour to point out, and to compare some of the inconveniences that would necessarily have resulted to our trade and settlements in the East Indies during the late war, from

from either one or the other of these places being in the hands of an ambitious enemy.

In the first place, it may be considered as a general principle that has long been rooted in the French Government, and from which it will never depart, to aim at the overthrow of our power in India, and to endeavour to erect upon its ruins an empire of their own. To accomplish this point, and in consequence thereof, in the language of the present Corsican ruler, "To strike a blow at England which will be followed up with its complete destruction," they know there are but two roads to take: the one by getting possession of Egypt and Syria, where they might collect and season their troops for the grand expedition, either by sea or land; the other by occupying the Cape of Good Hope. The former they tried in the hope of success, because they knew the other to be a desperate attempt. Had they, or their forced ally, the Dutch, kept possession of the Cape, there is no reason for supposing that the same fleet which failed for Egypt, might not have sailed, from some other port, to this station; or that they could not have slipped out from time to time almost any number of troops they might have thought proper to send. These troops, when seasoned and prepared at the Cape, for a warmer climate, could easily have been transported to the Isles of France and Bourbon, where the French would not only continue to draw supplies from the former, and to victual and provision their ships of war and transports from thence, as in the American war, but where they could not fail to have received a material reinforcement to their shipping from the

the Dutch ; for it may be recollected, that the fleet under the command of Admiral Lucas reached Saldanha Bay, in spite of the obstacles which the Southern Atlantic presented, by the Cape being then in our hands. This fleet combined with that of the French would have required a naval force, on our part, in the Indian Seas that might not have been quite convenient for us to spare. It is possible, also, they might have eluded the vigilance of our force, as their object would not have been so much to fight us, as to have put in execution a plan that many are inclined to suppose floated in the mind of Buonaparte when he took the road of Egypt, though he was soon convinced of the futility of it by that route without at least double the number of troops ; his whole army being barely sufficient to keep the conquered country in subjection.

Among many reasons, which led to this conjecture, was the work of *Mr. Anquetil Duperron* on India, which, as I have already observed, being withheld from publication for fifteen years on account of the information it contained, and of which it was supposed the English might avail themselves, was hastily issued from the press on the sailing of this memorable expedition ; being intended, most probably, as a guide for the officers on their arrival in India. This intelligent writer, who, to a mind capable of observation and deep reflection, adds the great advantage of local knowledge, fixes on the coast of Malabar as the foundation and corner-stone of their long projected empire in India. The considerations which induce him to give this coast the preference are, among others, the facility of possessing the passes of the neighbouring mountains and of thus securing

the internal commerce of Hindostan—the opportunity it would afford of entering into an alliance with the Mahrattas, whom he considers as a warlike and faithful people—the easy intercourse that might be maintained from this coast with the Persian gulph, the Red Sea, the Isles of France and Bourbon, Madagascar, and the Cape of Good Hope.

These are certainly important considerations, and demand all the vigilance and attention of our Government in India. Even a small force of French troops, had they been thrown upon the coast of Malabar, at the very moment when our forces were drawn off into the Mysores, against the Sultaun's army, might have proved fatal to our possessions on this coast. The usurper would, no doubt, have obtained his reinforcement from the Isle of France, and probably without our knowledge, rendering, by their means, the conquest of Seringapatam doubtful. If, in such a state of things, the French forces could have gained a footing at Bombay, Goa, or Guzzarat, and intrigued themselves into an alliance with the Mahratta powers, though it might not have realized their project of an Indian empire, it would, at least, have been destructive of our possessions in the west of the peninsula, to hold which, indeed, Mr. Anquetil considers as fatal to our power in India.

On this subject his opinion is not singular; before the overthrow of the Mysores kingdom, there were many of our own countrymen, whose sentiments in this respect accorded with his; and who, like himself, have not only a profound knowledge of Indian politics, but are well acquainted with the physical

fical and moral character of the natives, their several connections and relations; and who, at the same time, possess the advantage that local information so eminently affords.

These gentlemen were then fully persuaded, that if the native powers of India could once totally get rid of Europeans, they never would again admit them as inmates, if they could possibly avoid it; and that if we fairly relinquished the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, it would not be difficult to keep others out of them for ever. It might fairly be asked, indeed, if our present possessions there answer to us the advantages expected from them? Do they produce a surplus revenue, either in money or merchandize, over and above their immediate occasions and expences, to say nothing of the extraordinary charges they are exposed to from insurrection or invasion? Have they not re-absorbed, not only all their own resources, but drained Bengal of immense supplies to preserve them from perishing? Have we, or can we expect to find, interior resources there to depend on, without having recourse to Bengal for support? If we have not, and the India budget convinces us that we have not, would it be unwise to take early measures for converting our present hollow truce with the native powers of Southern India into a solid alliance with them, and (by the cession of what we can never hold at all without jealousy and envy, and never can hold long without contest,) for a valuable consideration, which, no doubt, might be had, cut away every inch of ground there, which the French might hope to stand upon. In such case the possession of the Cape or Ceylon would then be of less moment to us, our Indian force would be concentrated and invulnerable

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in the provinces of Bengal, which, with China, afford an ample revenue, and a beneficial commerce, that no enemy is likely to deprive us of for a long period of time. But these speculations would all have vanished into air, had we retained the Cape at a peace, the possession of which, from its position on the globe, would contribute greatly to secure our territories in Southern India, the danger to which is otherwise so much to be apprehended. The conquest of Myfore has certainly contributed in no small degree to our security on the Malabar coast; has consolidated our power in Southern India, and rendered the junction of foreign forces with the Mahratta powers more difficult if not altogether impracticable. On the northern parts of this coast only are we vulnerable in India by sea.

Supposing, however, the views of the enemy, on the Malabar coast, to have failed, they would, at least, have been enabled, with the assistance of the Dutch, to annoy and cut up our Indian and China trade by the multitude of cruizing vessels sent out from their islands of France and Bourbon, and from the Cape of Good Hope. Even under every disadvantage, the French frigates and the nest of privateers on the Mauritius station did much mischief at the commencement of the late war, and although they had few reinforcements from France, it required five years, with a very active and powerful squadron from the Cape and from India, before they were all taken and destroyed. What then must have been the case, if, instead of the English possessing this important station, it had been an enemy's port for assembling, refitting, and refreshing the combined fleets of the French and Dutch? It is unnecessary to observe,

serve, that neither of these powers would have found much difficulty in reaching the Cape with single ships, when we have an instance of a whole fleet of Dutch ships arriving there notwithstanding they were fifteen weeks on their passage. This single fleet, acting from the Cape, might have been productive of much inconvenience, expence, and injury to England, and especially to the trade of the East India Company. Were, indeed, the French and Dutch to keep up a proper naval force at this place, it is extremely doubtful if any of the homeward-bound fleets of the East India Company would ever reach England, or if they did, it would be under an expence of convoy so enormous, that the profits on the cargoes would be inadequate to meet it; but of this we shall have occasion to speak more particularly in the next chapter. Such are the dangers to be apprehended in consequence of the Cape being held by an enemy.

The principal disadvantages that would result to England by leaving Malta in the possession of France appear to be, in the first place, the power it would give them of excluding our ships from that port, the best, undoubtedly, in the Mediterranean, and of increasing their force there to the complete destruction of our Mediterranean trade; and secondly, the means it would afford of facilitating their views upon Egypt, by enabling them to throw into that country a force sufficient to renew their project upon India.

With regard to the extent and importance of the Mediterranean trade I speak with diffidence, but I am not apprehensive of

of hazarding much by saying that it admits not of a comparison with that of India and China, though, perhaps, too valuable to be altogether relinquished. In this respect the value of Malta is certainly less important than that of the Cape of Good Hope. But the second point is of a more serious nature. Some, however, are of opinion, that although the subjugation of Egypt may at any time be accomplished by the French, through Malta, yet, in such an event, we have every reason to expect that the vigilance and activity of a British fleet, and the valour of British soldiers, would always enable us to dispute with them the passage of Syria. That, admitting even they should succeed in collecting at Suez an army equal to their wishes, the difficulties of transporting this army to India would be almost insurmountable. If it be meant by those who support this opinion that the attempt is to be made by sea, whilst the Cape remained in our possession, I have little hesitation in agreeing with them that it would certainly fail. During the last war, when their troops had marched to Suez, they had not a single ship in the Red Sea that dared to carry the French flag, nor, with the Cape and Ceylon in our hands, could they at any future period have a fleet of any description without our permission.

But we will even allow them to have assembled at Suez a fleet of their own ships, or of the country coasters, sufficient to take on board their armament destined for the Malabar coast. The next question is, where, or in what manner, are they to victual and to provision such a fleet for a month or five weeks passage, and especially in the supply of the indispensable article of water? The fountains of Moses, it is true, furnish a supply of

of water at all seasons of the year, but they are situated at twelve miles distance from Suez. Water may be, likewise, and is, collected in tanks or reservoirs near the town, but it soon grows fetid. The difficulty, however, of victualling and watering such a fleet, though great, is not insurmountable, and therefore may be allowed to be got over.

The dangerous navigation of the Red Sea, in which it appears not fewer than fifteen armed ships were lost between the time of the French entering Egypt, and the signing of the definitive treaty of peace, is the next obstacle that presents itself, and which may also be surmounted. But as the navigation down this sea can only be performed six months in the year, on account of the periodical winds which there prevail, we can always know, within six months, when such a fleet would attempt to pass the narrow strait of Babelmandel, and be prepared accordingly. This strait is completely commanded by the island of Perim, against which there is no other objection but the want of water. If, however, we have allowed the French to surmount so many difficulties before they can arrive at the strait of Babelmandel, we may surely give ourselves the credit of being able to overcome this single objection against the island of Perim. A reservoir to collect and preserve rain water might be constructed; or, by digging below the level of the sea, fresh water would, in all probability, be obtained; or, at any rate, water might be transported thither from the continent, sufficient for the supply of the small garrison that would be necessary to protect the strait. The possession of this island, with a few frigates, is said to be competent for the destruction of all the craft

that could possibly be collected and sent down from Suez and all the other ports of the Red Sea. Little, therefore, is to be apprehended from the designs of the French on India by the way of the Red Sea, so long as we can command the strait and victual the force necessary to be stationed there; advantages which the possession of the Cape and of Ceylon would always enable us to make use of.

But if through the Cape the French can contrive to assemble and victual a large armament in the Indian Seas, we must have an immense force to prevent such an armament from co-operating with a body of troops that may previously have been thrown into Egypt and Syria, a plan which they probably intended to have carried into effect, had not the ambitious views of the Consul put us on our guard, and rendered the present war both just and necessary. Such a plan, at any future period of peace, may easily be realized, long before any intelligence of it could reach India, or any force be sent out from England to counteract it, if Malta and the Cape of Good Hope were accessible to the French, but could not be carried into execution provided the Cape be left in our hands, and converted into a naval and military station, for which it is so peculiarly adapted.

What the consequence might be of an attempt entirely by land, from Greece or Syria to India, is not quite so certain; and under the present circumstances of the French, it is not improbable that the experiment will be made by land and not by sea. If, indeed, the emperor Paul had lived to carry into execution his wild but dangerous scheme, of assembling a large body

body of troops on the eastern borders of the Caspian Sea, to act in concert with the French, it is difficult to say where the mischief of their quixotism might have ended. The minds of men, intoxicated with power and maddened by ambition, are not to be measured by the same motives which usually guide the actions of mankind. It is certain that neither Paul nor Buonaparte regarded the great waste of men that such a project would have occasioned. They must have known that by no precaution nor exertion could they have made sure of a constant supply of provisions for so vast a combined army; but such knowledge would not have prevented them from making the experiment, the lives of their people being objects of little consideration with them. If, like the host of Xerxes, they should be compelled to feed on grass and the shrubs of the thicket, or, like the army of Cambyses, in their march against the Ethiopians, be reduced to the still more dreadful necessity of killing every tenth man to feed the rest, what remorse would such calamities occasion in the breast of that man, who could deliberately put to death by poison the companions of his victories, for no other fault than the misfortune of being disabled by sickness?

Yet, although vast numbers would necessarily perish in such an enterprize, the result might, nevertheless, be the means of shaking our security in India; and this would be considered as a most ample compensation for any loss the enemy might sustain in the expedition. The obstacles that have been urged against it were, perhaps, equally great and numerous when the Macedonian hero undertook to march his army across the same countries; yet he overcame them all. And if Alexander could suc-

ceed in penetrating into India, why not Buonaparte, since military skill and tactics are now so much superior among Europeans to what they were in his day, whilst they have remained nearly stationary in the nations of the east? No sufficient reason can, perhaps, be assigned why the one, with the same or with increased means, and with talents, perhaps, not less suited to apply these means to the best advantage, should not be able to proceed to the same length that the other did.

That no part of his army would ever return is extremely probable. When a considerable proportion had perished by fatigue, by sickness, and by famine, the rest, in all human probability, by change of climate, manner of living, and by intermarrying with a new people, would produce a new race, and that race would cease to be Frenchmen. An army for such an expedition must, in the outset, be immense, to afford a sufficient number of men to maintain the conquered countries through which they must pass. The farther they proceeded the more formidable would be the enemies left in their rear; and on their approach to India, there are good grounds for supposing that the native powers would keep them in check, jealous, as they now must be, of admitting new European visitors, after the dearly bought experience they have already had of their old friends from that quarter. These, however, are contingencies that amount to no security of a failure in the main object of the expedition, namely, the destruction of our empire in the east. We shall, perhaps, come nearest the mark by considering the most serious, and probably the only, obstacle that would impede their progress in the countries that lie between Syria and India,

to be occasioned by the great difficulty of procuring provisions and transporting the baggage and ammunition that would be required for so large an army. But even these are difficulties which, by an enterprising and determined mind, would be surmounted.

Whether the French really intended to march an army by land, in the event of their having reduced Acre and got possession of Syria, seems to be doubtful; but it is pretty evident they entertained hopes, at one time, of being able to co-operate with the Sultaun of Mysore by the Red Sea, though it does not appear that any previous plan had been concerted for transporting their troops from Egypt to India. The whole expedition, indeed, should seem to have been, in the first instance, a momentary thought, without any further plan or design than that of diverting the original intention of an armament, which was vauntingly called the Army of England. The fact seems to be, that the power and the influence of Buonaparte, who had the command of this army, had rendered him the object of jealousy and hatred to the Directory, who were equally glad with himself to have an excuse for changing the current of these vast preparations from a hazardous, almost hopeless, enterprize, whose failure would have ended in equal disgrace both to the Directory and their general, into a romantic expedition that had the sanction of the old government for the attempt, and, at all events, was more promising of success than the pretended invasion of the British islands. The fame of Buonaparte required, in fact, to be supported, at that time, by some new and signal adventure which might be the means of rescuing him from the secondary

condary part the Directory had reserved for him, by the command of a pretended expedition against their only remaining enemy. In this situation some of his friends, it is supposed, suggested to him the conquest of Egypt, which had long been an object of the French Government under the monarchy. The brilliancy of such a conquest was well suited to the enterprising spirit and ambitious views of the Corsican. It is supposed, also, that the memoir which the philosopher Leibnitz presented to Louis XIVth was put into his hands, and that the grand objects held out therein took strong possession of his mind. "The sovereignty of the seas—the Eastern Empire—the overthrow of the Porte—and universal arbitration," were all to be accomplished by the conquest of Egypt, a conquest that was reserved for his mighty arm. "Soldiers," says he, on the departure of the expedition, "you are about to undertake a conquest, the effects of which, upon commerce and civilization, will be incalculable; and the blow it will give to England will be followed up with its destruction."

But vain are often the hopes of man! The brilliancy of such a conquest, however alluring at a distance, seems to have faded on the approach. Whether his unsuccessful attempt against Acre had damped his ardour, and thrown an insurmountable barrier to any views he might have entertained against India, or whether he meant to be satisfied with annexing Egypt to the colonies of France, is still matter of conjecture; but it would seem from one of his letters, published in the intercepted correspondence, written at a time when he had not the least idea of being baffled in his schemes, and his army finally driven out by the

the English, that the acquisition of Egypt was the end of his design, and that his intention was to return to Paris as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made for its future government. His object, no doubt, as appears from his letters to the King of England and the Emperor of Germany, was to obtain a general peace, and by certain sacrifices on the part of France or its allies, to retain possession of this new colony, from whence, at some distant period, when he had assembled a sufficient force, and prepared the necessary quantity of shipping in the Red Sea, he might have availed himself of a favourable opportunity of making a descent on the Malabar coast. In such an event he was well aware that England, at that time, would never have relinquished the Cape of Good Hope, which he might therefore have proposed as an equivalent for Egypt. The importance which the French have attached to this half-way station between Europe and India, appears from the conferences which took place between Lord Malmesbury and Monsieur *De la Croix*, wherein the latter persisted that the Cape of Good Hope was of infinitely greater importance to England than the Netherlands were to France, and that if our demands for keeping it were acquiesced in, it should be considered as a full and ample compensation for them. "If," says he, "you are masters of the Cape and Trincomalée, we shall hold all our settlements in India, and the Isles of France and Bourbon entirely at the tenure of your will and pleasure; they will be ours only as long as you choose we should retain them; you will be sole masters in India, and we shall be entirely dependent on you." On one occasion he vehemently exclaimed, "Your Indian empire alone has enabled you to sub-

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“sidize all the powers of Europe against us, and your monopoly
“of the Indian trade has put you in possession of a fund of in-
“exhaustible wealth!”

As the French, in all human probability, will very soon be deprived of all their colonies in the west, they will be more anxious to increase their establishments in the east; and however limited might have been the extent of their views on the memorable expedition to Egypt, there cannot now be a difference of opinion on the subject. India is, undoubtedly, their object, and to gain that object they will leave no measures untried, nor regard the sacrifice of thousands. They have now, indeed, stronger motives than ever for attempting the destruction of our power in the east. Driven from the most valuable of their West India settlements, by a conduct of which the consequences might easily have been foreseen, and in a fair way of losing the rest, they will seek for reparation in Egypt and in India. If, however, England can succeed in keeping them out of the Eastern Seas, the feeble remains of their maritime strength must speedily be extinguished; for without colonies they can have little or no foreign trade, and consequently no seamen. To effect this desirable end, it will be indispensably necessary for England to regain possession of the Cape of Good Hope, which, with Malta and Ceylon, are the best guarantees for the tranquillity of our Indian trade and settlements, and without which their security must always be considered as precarious.

It is almost superfluous to observe how much every nation of Europe is interested, that the power of the British empire should,

should, at this moment, be upheld by every possible security that may enable her to resist the overwhelming and insatiable ambition of France. Do the other powers vainly hope to meet a better fate under her triumphant arms than Holland, Hanover, or Switzerland have experienced, where, before the palsying arm of French tyranny had destroyed their health and vigour, the people were prosperous, happy, and free? Would Denmark or Sweden, Prussia or the principalities of Germany, be treated with more consideration than the Italian provinces have been? Will Spain and Portugal increase their influence, wealth, and commerce by being degraded into tributary provinces of France, and do they promise themselves a better security of their colonies by the humiliating alliance? Nothing, surely, but the most morbid apathy could prevent these and the rest of Europe from rising in a mass to wipe off the disgrace that has already fallen on some, and momentarily threatens the rest. How is it possible that those powers, who yet have the means of rescuing Europe from universal misery, can remain inactive, and insensible of their own impending danger? A little island, animated with a great soul, is their only security, and if that should fail; the tyrant's fell grasp will soon reach them all. The system, deeply rooted in the mind of the Consular Government, appears to be that of universal and arbitrary dominion—to reduce all Europe into gallic provinces as Asia fell under the yoke of Rome.

Nor would the dreadful effects of French aggrandizement be confined to Europe, were they not completely checked by the maritime power of Great Britain. Asia, Africa, and South America would soon be overrun with Frenchmen. No one can

doubt, for a moment, what the fate of Egypt would be if England should relinquish the possession of Malta. The First Consul, indeed, in an unguarded moment of frenzy, has most unequivocally avowed it. The destruction of the Ottoman Government is another object of French ambition. One of the most intelligent of the French officers, in his correspondence with the Executive Directory, observes, "The Ottoman Empire is generally regarded as an old edifice, tottering to its fall. The European powers have long been preparing to divide its scattered fragments, and many politicians conceive that the catastrophe is close at hand. In this supposition, they think it but right that France should have her share of the spoils; *and the part allotted to her is Egypt.*"

But let those professed Cosmopolites, who, from principles of pretended humanity, declare themselves friends to the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, reflect seriously on the consequences that would inevitably ensue were France concerned in the dissolution and partition of this government. However desirable it may seem to free the Greeks from the miserable yoke under which they long have groaned, yet a sudden transition from slavery to freedom would scarcely be borne with more moderation by the Greeks, than by the French at home or the negroes in the West India islands. Nor would the horrors of a revolution be confined to the Turkish provinces. The licentious army who might effect it, trained and accustomed to rapine and plunder, led on by needy or ambitious officers, who, on their part, are spurred by the aggrandizing views of their government, would not be content to sit down with Egypt as their share

share of the plunder. As Malta was the step that led them to Egypt, so would Egypt be to Syria, and Syria to the possession of India; to the plunder of that wealth which, in their opinion, is the great support of Britain. Thus would the scourge of their inordinate ambition be felt from the Nile to the Ganges, and from thence, in all probability, to the Yellow Sea. And by adverting to the geographical position of the southern extremity of Africa, in relation to other countries, and to the advantages it commands as a military station, we shall perceive with what ease might all the ports of South America be made subservient to their ambitious views, and how speedily that great continent from the isthmus of Darien to Terra del Fuego would fall into their insatiable grasp. The accomplishment of these objects, chimerical as they may appear, are prevented only by the transcendant and invincible strength of the British navy.

As it must therefore obviously be the interest of the whole world that the restless and aggrandizing spirit of France should effectually be counteracted, and as the Cape of Good Hope and Malta in her possession would forward her views at universal dominion, there can be no reasonable objections made on the part of the other powers of Europe against these two grand points of security being left, at a general peace, in the hands of England, or, at all events, to be protected by English garrisons, as some guarantee against the designs of the general enemy of the human race.

As the importance of every military station must depend, in a considerable degree, on the sufficiency of the works that either

are already constructed for its defence against internal or external attack, or on the local advantages it possesses of being rendered defensible, it may be expected I should here say something on this subject. Being no professional man, I am aware, in doing this, of the risk I run of laying myself open to the censure of some who are so, particularly as I have heard so many and such contrary opinions advanced as to the best means of attacking and of defending the Cape of Good Hope. The little I have to offer on the subject will be chiefly descriptive; and as to the defence of the place my ideas will be grounded on the opinion of those whose skill in their professions, and whose sound judgment in the ordinary affairs of life, joined to their local knowledge, entitle such opinion to some degree of consideration. It may be observed, however, that there are not, perhaps, two officers who perfectly agree on this subject.

By the defence of the Cape of Good Hope, is meant only that of the peninsular promontory, containing the two bays which are the usual resort of shipping, and on the northern part of which the town is situated. And for the better illustration of what follows, I have added a military map of the said peninsula, the outline of which was taken, I believe, some years ago by a French engineer, was afterwards filled up by different officers in the Dutch service, and was examined, corrected, and verified with great care and accuracy, by Captain (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Bridges of the British engineers, under whose directions several new and important works were constructed by order of Sir James Craig. For the sake of conveniency, I found it necessary to reduce the scale to half the size of the original drawing,

drawing, and have added to the Dutch scale of roeds one of English yards, the former being to the latter as $4\frac{11}{16}$ to 1.

This military plan, together with the bays, I have thought it expedient to publish, as multiplied copies of them are in the possession not only of the government and officers at the Cape, but also of French officers in Europe; and it is presumed they may be of use to those who, perhaps, may hereafter be sent on an expedition against this important settlement without possessing local knowledge, although, for such a purpose, and against so extensive a colony, it would be highly adviseable to select such as were well acquainted not only with the fortified peninsula, but also with the different bays and passes of the country, the manners of the colonists and their resources, and, above all, with the habits of the native Hottentots.

Cape Town, which may be called the capital of the colony, is situated on the south-east angle of Table Bay. It usually happens that the advantages of the bay, in forming a new settlement, determines the choice of the site for the town; but, in this instance, the convenience of a plentiful stream of pure limpid water, rushing out of the Table Mountain, was the primary object to which the bay was subservient. Had this not been the case, the first settlers would unquestionably have given the preference to Saldanha Bay, whose only defect is the want of fresh water near it; whereas Table Bay is faulty in every point that constitutes a proper place for the resort of shipping; and so boisterous, for four months in the year, as totally to exclude all ships from entering it.

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As this, however, became the seat of the petty concerns in which the Dutch East India Company allowed its servants to traffic, and, under certain restrictions, the other settlers to carry on with foreign ships, a commerce that was chiefly confined to the supply of provisions and refreshments in exchange for Indian and European articles, they found it necessary to build a fort for the protection of their property and of the Company's warehouses against the attempts of the natives.

As the trade to India increased, and the Cape, in consequence, became more frequented, it was deemed expedient to extend the works, and to erect a citadel that should serve as a defence against any attack either by land or by sea. This citadel is the present castle, a regular pentagon fort, with two ravelins and some other outworks, and surrounded by a wet ditch; but so injudiciously placed, in the very lowest part, or sink, of the valley, that although it commands the town and part of the anchorage, itself is commanded by the ground rising from it in a slope to the Devil's Hill, which, therefore, renders it not defensible. This slope is now occupied as high as the commencement of the perpendicular rocky side of the Devil's Hill, by various redoubts, batteries, and block-houses commanding each other, and the advance ground to the castle, all of which were added by Sir James Craig.

During the American war, when the French were at the Cape, they raised lines with two redoubts to protect the approach to the castle on the land side, the expence of which they paid in paper money. These lines, however, extending no farther

ther up the tongue of land that projects from the Devil's Hill, than the point, No. 12, in the map, were liable to be turned between that point and the craggy summit D, a manœuvre, I believe, which General Craig intended to put in practice, provided the Dutch, after being driven out of Wynberg, were disposed to make a stand at the French lines. He therefore, very properly, ordered a battery and block-house to be constructed immediately under D, and a second a little lower down the hill, which, with the two redoubts in the lines, and Fort de Knokke at their extremity on the shore of Table Bay, being all within the compass of 1500 yards, would enable the garrison to keep up such a cross and concentrated fire, as to prevent any moderate number of troops from attempting to force the lines in their approach to the town from Simon's Bay. And, in order to strengthen the northern extremity of the lines, and, at the same time, to cover the landing place at the mouth of, and passage across, the Salt River, he added, also, a bomb-proof tower and battery at G, both of which bear his name. Notwithstanding, however, the strength of these lines, the officers of the Dutch garrison, now at the Cape, were of opinion that the most eligible mode of attacking the town would be to force the lines, though at the hazard of losing a number of men, after which the castle must immediately fall; and many English officers are of the same opinion.

Fort Knokke is connected with the citadel by a rampart drawn along the shore, called the Sea lines, defended by several batteries, mounted with heavy guns, and furnished with ovens for heating shot. Within these lines is a powder magazine, and

and a long range of low buildings that were converted, under the English government, into a general hospital, with lodgings for the inspector, storekeeper, and apothecary to the forces.

On the west of the bay are three strong batteries at the points K, L, M, the Rogge-bay battery, the Amsterdam battery, and the Chavonne battery, the guns of which all bear directly upon the anchorage. At N is also a small battery, called the Mouillé, commanding the entrance of the bay; for all ships, when coming in, keep the point of the Mouillé close on board, and go out of the bay between Roben Island and the continent. A little farther, at the point O, where there is a small sandy cove, a work was thrown up with a few light guns and a furnace for heating shot, to prevent a landing at this place, which they have further endeavoured to impede by fixing three anchors across the inlet. A very few shot from one of our frigates soon, however, dislodged the enemy from this work.

At Camp's Bay, on the western coast of the peninsula, there are also a few small batteries, and a military post on the height above it, directly between the Table Mountain and the Lion's Head. An almost perpetual surf rolls upon the sandy beach of Camp's Bay, otherwise, this might be considered as a very vulnerable point. An army landing here, and at Three Anchor Bay, might take the town and all the batteries in their rear, or, which would still be more important, might get possession of the Lion's Rump at F, from whence, with a few howitzers, the town and citadel, and the strong batteries on the west side of Table Bay, would be completely commanded. And this hill
has

has the very great advantage of not being commanded by any other point.

So fully convinced was Sir James Craig of the vast importance of this situation, that he proposed to Government, in the event of the Cape remaining in our possession, to erect a citadel upon it, with buildings for every military purpose, such as barracks for the garrison, houses for an hospital, buildings for the ordnance department, for military stores, and for at least twelve months' provisions. Such a fortification, when properly completed, would, in the opinion of Sir James, be ably defended, in time of war, by 1200 men; and would render the town, the batteries, and the castle, untenable by an enemy, all of which might be totally destroyed from this height in four-and-twenty hours. The most intelligent of the officers of the Dutch garrison, now at the Cape, were precisely of the same opinion, and immediately pointed out the situation as the most eligible for erecting a citadel. The Government, however, are not in circumstances at present to undertake a work of such magnitude and expence, not being able to raise funds adequate to meet the subsistence of the troops, and the contingent and extraordinary expences of the garrison, consisting of about two thousand men.

The greatest difficulty, in employing this situation for such a purpose, would be the want of water; but it is by no means an insurmountable difficulty. Twelve hundred men, at a daily allowance of a quart to each man, would consume, in twelve months, 109,500 gallons, and a cistern, capable of containing

this quantity, would not be required to exceed a square of twelve yards, provided the depth be about four yards and a half. And two cisterns of these dimensions, would be fully adequate for every purpose that the garrison would require.

Another objection, however, was started, grounded on the opinion of some of the artillery officers in the service of the East India Company, who conceived the Lion's Hill to be within point blank shot of the Devil's Hill, the slope of which, below the rocky summit, is at least twice the height of the former, and consequently commanded it. These gentlemen, who are supposed to be among the best informed of the Company's officers, may be very good artillery officers, but they are certainly bad judges of distance in a mountainous country; for, as Sir James Craig has observed, the nearest point of the Devil's Hill is at the distance of 3700 yards; but that, in order to get any thing like a level with the part of the Lion's Rump, on which the most considerable part of the works would be placed, it would be necessary to go farther back on the slope of the Devil's Hill, at least five hundred yards, and even then the elevation would not be equal to that point on which the said works were situated; so that the point blank range of the Company's artillery officers is, at least, 4200 yards. Sir James observes, that a residence of fourteen months at the Cape, since he gave his opinion on this subject, and a continued and unremitting study, to render the place as defensible as possible, had only served to confirm him in it; an opinion, indeed, which perfectly coincided with that of Lieutenant-Colonel Bridges, who commanded the British engineers, as well as with that of every intelligent

telligent officer who has been on duty at the Cape, not only among the English, but also among the French, Dutch, and German officers now serving there.

Near the narrowest part of the peninsula, on the western shore, are two contiguous bays called Hout or Wood Bay, and Chapman's Bay; the latter communicating, by a defile of the mountains, about 2700 yards in length, with Vis or Fish Bay close to Simon's Bay; and the former, by another defile, with the great road leading from Cape Town to Simon's Bay. There appears to be no instance on record of any ship going into Chapman's Bay, it being completely exposed to all the prevailing winds that blow at the Cape, and, in consequence, seldom free from a heavy swell of the sea. Were it, indeed, ever so secure and convenient for landing troops, all the advantages it holds out would be obtained by a landing at Simon's Bay. This is not the case, were an enemy to effect a landing at Hout Bay to the northward of it; as, from this place, they would be enabled to make their approach to the lines, leaving Muizenberg, which, on a former occasion, I have called the Thermopylae of the Cape peninsula, in their rear.

Hout Bay affords safe and convenient anchorage for eight or ten ships; and has a rivulet of fresh water falling into it from the back part of Table Mountain; but the getting out of the bay is supposed to be very difficult and precarious, on account of the eddy winds from the surrounding mountains when they are moderate in the Offing, or from the south-easterly winds setting into the entrance; as well as from the constant westerly

swell and wind prevailing from that quarter in the winter season. Captain Blanket, however, in the year 1784, when he commanded the Nymph sloop of war, ran out of curiosity, into Hout Bay, at which the Dutch were exceedingly jealous and angry, none of them having ever seen a ship there before. It is now defended with a battery and a block-house.

As to Simon's Bay, which lies on the eastern side of the peninsula, in the great bay of False, and is the usual resort of shipping for five months in the year, it should seem the Dutch had no idea of their colony being attacked from that quarter, as the strong ground at Muisenberg was entirely unoccupied before the British expedition appeared in the bay; and all the works and batteries there were constructed between the time of its arrival and the day the troops marched to attack it.

For the defence of the various works upon the Cape peninsula, all of which I have just enumerated, a garrison of five thousand men has been considered, by all who are acquainted with the place, as the very least force that would be required; and, consequently, no part of it could, with propriety, be detached into the interior, without exposing the garrison to danger. The colony, indeed, is so extensive, having an unprotected coast of 580 miles from Cape Point to the Kaffer country on the east, and of 315 miles from Cape Point to the River Kouffie on the north, that an army of ten thousand men would scarcely be sufficient to keep out an enemy, if he were determined to effect a landing. A large force, however, landed at any great distance from the Cape, could not possibly be subsisted. At

Mossel Bay it might, perhaps, receive a small supply of corn, but no cattle; at Plettenberg's bay, neither the one nor the other. At Algoa Bay an enemy might, at all times, create a great deal of mischief, by putting arms into the hands of the Kaffers and Hottentots, who might very easily be encouraged to drive the whole colony within the limits of the Cape peninsula; a measure, by which the garrison and the settlers would immediately be starved for want of provisions. It is obvious that such a step would be attended with the present ruin of the settlement, and would not, on that account, be resorted to but by a desperate or a Machiavelian enemy.

This bay might, however, be very fairly, and successfully, made use of to land about a hundred light dragoons, from whence, by marching into Graaf Reynet, they would not only find the means of mounting and of subsisting themselves, but might effectually cut off the large supplies of sheep and cattle which are principally furnished by this district for the use of the town and garrison. A quantity of Spanish dollars would ensure the party a cordial reception from the boors, at least as long as their money lasted; nor do I believe, so long as the memory of their last campaigning is fresh in their minds, they will ever be induced again to assemble in arms, on any occasion, against Europeans. The Dutch, I understand, have stationed at this bay near three hundred troops, to keep the peace between the boors, the Kaffers, and the Hottentots, but the greater part would, undoubtedly, be withdrawn on receiving intelligence of the present war; the weakness of the garrison not admitting of so large a detachment being sent off the peninsula, especially as in the month

month of July last they had received no reinforcements from the French, and expected none from Holland.

But the most effectual way, perhaps, of distressing the garrison, would be to land detachments at various points not very distant from the Cape peninsula; as, for instance, at Gordon's Bay, which may be done at all seasons of the year, but most conveniently from September to May. Here, as I before observed, immediate possession might be taken of Hottentot Holland's Kloof, which is but a few miles distant, and from which a small party, with field-pieces or howitzers, would not easily be driven out; at the same time a second detachment, landed at Saldanha Bay, might take possession of Roode Sand Kloof; thus totally cutting off the possibility of any supply of cattle from the interior parts of the country. A third detachment, landed near Blauwberg, at a short distance from the anchorage off Roben Island, might form a chain of posts between this hill and the party in Roode Sand Kloof, and thus cut off the supplies of grain from Zwartland Berg River, Picquetberg, Reibecks Castle, and the four-and-twenty rivers, which are the principal corn districts. The time should be the months of January and February, when the corn of the new harvest begins to be sent up to town, whither two-thirds of the quantity reaped are usually brought in the course of the two succeeding months. In January 1803, the magazines of grain were completely exhausted, which will also be the case in January 1804, the returns of the harvest being barely sufficient for the exigencies of the year.

The invading fleet, if superior in force to that on the station, might easily be supplied with fresh provisions, either at the anchorage off Roben Island, where they could lie in perfect security, or in Saldanha Bay. At six miles distance to the northward of this bay, there is good water at a place called *Witte Klip*, the White Rock, and not bad, though, perhaps, a little brackish, at several places on the east shore of the bay; and I have little doubt that plenty of good water might be procured by digging wells at the foot of the Blauwberg, or even on Roben Island, an operation which the Dutch have neither skill to conduct, nor industry to accomplish.

Some, however, are of opinion that the place would best be taken by a *Coup de Main*, by dashing at once into Table Bay in a south-east wind, and cutting out all the ships that may happen to be at anchor. In doing this, they would have to sustain the fire of Craig's tower and battery, Fort de Knokke, the sea lines and the castle, but the three heavy batteries, on the west coast of the bay, would pour their fire into their own ships. There are few places, however, where so great a fire can be concentrated, as can be brought to bear on the anchoring ground of Table Bay. The batteries are mounted with a considerable number of heavy guns; but, it is true, they are very old; a great part of them honeycombed, and the carriages of many completely demolished. The Amsterdam battery has also many defects, and, in the opinion of some naval officers, would soon be silenced by a single ship of the line, brought to lie close alongside of it.

Others

Others are of opinion, that a moderate force of infantry and artillery, landed at Three Anchor Bay, might easily succeed in getting possession of Amsterdam battery in the rear, as well as the Chavonne and Rogge Bay batteries, after which the castle would no longer be tenable, and the town would be at the mercy of the attacking party. Perhaps the strongest impression might be made by combining the two opinions; though a large force might probably prefer landing on the eastern beach of Table Bay, where there is nothing to interrupt them, cross the Salt River, and carry the lines by a *Coup de Main*, after which, as I have before observed, the castle must immediately fall, and the garrison surrender at discretion.

The Dutch garrison, at the evacuation of the colony by the English, in March last, were certainly not capable of opposing any very considerable resistance, or to defend the place against a spirited attack, conducted by an officer of skill and local experience. Three or four ships of the line, with four thousand men, would be fully sufficient to carry their point; provided the Dutch should receive no reinforcements from the French, which, hitherto, there are no grounds for supposing to be the case. The whole garrison, when complete, was intended to consist of three thousand men; of these were already arrived, at that time, barely two thousand, consisting in a regiment of the Prince of Waldec, about six hundred strong; three hundred cavalry; three hundred artillery; two or three companies of grenadiers, and the rest *jagers* or a light rifle corps, totally undisciplined, and composed of almost every nation on the face of the earth, being, for the most part, deserters from the German regiments.

regiments. And, with regard to the artillery, they were so miserably defective that, out of the whole corps, they could not select a sufficient number of trained men to fire the salutes intended to be made on hoisting the Dutch flag on the first of January; but made application to the commanding officer of the British artillery, for a party to assist them: yet, when the orders for the surrender of the colony were countermanded, and it became a probable event that hostilities would ensue, it was industriously circulated by the Dutch officers, or rather by the French officers nominally in the Dutch service, that their corps of artillery was in the highest state of discipline and order, the greatest part of the men having distinguished themselves at the battle of Marengo! They were commanded, however, as well as the cavalry, by active and intelligent officers.

The services of the *Burgher Cavalry* are not likely ever to be again demanded. Were they, indeed, ever so well disposed to fight, the number that it would be found practicable to raise is far from being great. Those who dwell in the interior parts of the settlement would find it extremely inconvenient to quit their homes, on account of their slaves and Hottentots, who might be induced to take advantage of their absence; and the Cape district, containing only about six thousand souls, could not be supposed to furnish more than a thousand men fit to bear arms, and, probably, not one hundred that would dare to use them.

The Hottentot corps, consisting of about five hundred men, so far from feeling any disposition to enter into the service of the

Dutch, actually declined it, and expressed the strongest wishes to return to their connections in the distant parts of the colony. What the fate of these poor creatures may be is difficult to conjecture. Convinced, as the Dutch Government would speedily be, that they would never be prevailed on to draw a trigger against the English, it will become a very serious difficulty in what manner to dispose of them. If they should desert in a body, which was generally thought would be the event, they would drive in the whole country. But if, before this happens, the colonists should be granted the prayer of either of their petitions, the government will be relieved from any apprehensions with regard to the Hottentot corps: one of these humane proposals was to surround and massacre the whole corps; the other, to put a chain to the leg of every man, and distribute them among the farmers as slaves for life.

The only chance they have of escaping, rests upon the good intentions of the Governor and Commander in Chief towards them, from whose humane disposition, and honourable character, they will receive every protection and support, as far, at least, as depends upon him; but, in a revolutionary government, the best disposed must, in some degree, swim with the torrent of popular opinion.

One single ship of war, the Bato of 68 guns, remained in Table Bay, preparing to follow two others of the same class, the Pluto and the Kortenaar, to Batavia. None of these three ships had any of their lower-deck guns on board, and were only
half

half manned ; being intended, though under the command of an Admiral, to take on board, and carry to Europe, cargoes of coffee. Three frigates had sailed a few months before for the same purpose, under the command of Commodore Melisse, and two others formed part of Rear-Admiral Dekker's squadron ; so that the Dutch had, at that time, in the Eastern Seas, three ships of the line and five fine frigates, which, however, were in no condition to add much lustre to the Batavian flag.

The ammunition and stores that were found at the capture, together with those that were given over by the British Government, at the surrender, to the amount of about twenty thousand pounds value, will serve for many years, not only as a supply of the garrison, but also of the Isles of France and Bourbon. The great barrack, situated between the town and the castle, was put into thorough repair, and fitted up with bedding and other necessaries for the reception of two thousand men ; and the citadel, capable of containing one thousand men, with lodgings for the officers, was intended to be put into the same condition.

Recent accounts mention the deplorable state of the colony under its new government. The revenues are so reduced as to be totally inadequate to meet the expences of the garrison, and they have no hope of any supply from Holland. New taxes were imposed on the inhabitants, which they refused to pay. The troops were in a complete state of insubordination ; several

were under trial for mutiny, and numbers were daily deserting with their arms. Universal discontent and general distress prevailed. In such a state of things, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the Cape would fall an easy conquest to a British force.

CHAP. IV.

Importance of the Cape of Good Hope, considered as a Naval Station.

Comparative small Space occupied by the British Islands—their Weight among Nations accounted for.—Commerce the Source of British Wealth.—Precariousness of the mere Carrying-trade.—Colonies improve Navigation.—Character of French Seamen—of Dutch Seamen.—Treatment on board their own Ships.—Mortality.—The Cape necessary to the Dutch Trade to India—an intermediate Port desirable to other Nations—least so to England—Reasons of it.—Incidents to which maritime Transactions are liable make friendly Ports always desirable.—Convenience of the Cape.—Portuguese the first Visitors—then the English and Dutch—taken Possession of by the latter—extend their Territory beyond the original Intention—Impediments thrown by the Company—Willingness to part with it.—Advantages as a Naval Station, not confined to the Supply of Refreshments—Resort for Ships in Distress—the Countess of Sutherland Indiaman.—Cape proper for assembling Convoys—Provisions to be procured.—Importance as commanding the Entrance of the Indian Seas.—Isles of France and Bourbon dependent on the Cape.—France unable to disturb India without a Fleet.—Trade of India subject to the Masters of the Cape—Healthiness of the Climate for Seamen.—Moderate Expence of subsisting a Fleet—Sailors' Ration of fresh Provisions—Brandy cheaper than West India Rum—Consumption of colonial Produce by the Fleet—about one-fourth of the usual Expence—Wear and Tear of the Ships considerable.—Importance of the geographical Position of the Cape—commanding a speedy Inter-course with most Parts of the World.—Disadvantages to Britain in the Hands of an Enemy.—Three Points of Annoyance to our Trade—comparative Danger of the outward and homeward bound Passages—that of passing the Straits of Sunda—of Manilla—of L'Aguiilas Bank—of Saint Helena.—Inefficacy of Convoys.—Difference of Circumstances between this and the American War.—Present Aim of France.—

The

The comparative Estimate of the Cape and Ceylon.—French jealous of our Commerce.—Necessity of re-possessing the Cape or destroying the Enemy's Shipping there.—Bays of the Cape—Table Bay—Robben Island—Loss of the Sceptre—Simon's Bay—Saldanha Bay—Objections to it—obviated.—Saint Helena Bay.—Conclusion.

WHEN one reflects, for a moment, on the diminutive space that the British islands occupy on the surface of the globe, in comparison with the large portions that some nations enjoy, and considers their detached and remote situation by which their inhabitants were, in the opinion of the ancients,

"Toto ab orbe divisos,"

"Cut off from the rest of mankind;"

when, at the same time, one bears in mind the vast weight and preponderance these little islands have long maintained in the history and transactions of most of the numerous societies that constitute this world of human beings, it is impossible to withhold our admiration and astonishment at a phenomenon which, at first sight, wears the appearance of being so much out of the ordinary course of things. In vain should we search for a parallel in the history of the world, because the history of the world affords no example of a country where property has so much weight, affords so much enjoyment, and is so well secured by just and equal laws, as in Great Britain.

Exertions to amass wealth will, generally, be proportional to the stability given to property. Hence, the enterprising spirit of Britons has collected the riches of the world within their fortunate islands. Hence, the great and stupendous works of convenience,

venience, utility, and magnificence, that embrace the shores of the Thames, the Mersey, the Severn, and most of the navigable rivers of the empire which, whilst they facilitate the purposes of commerce, add splendor and ornament to the country, and serve as notable monuments of a powerful and opulent nation. But, although the seat of empire, the central point of power and wealth, is fixed in the British islands, yet, if we cast our eyes on the map of the world, and skim along the western shores of the Atlantic, thence descend to the Southern Pacific, and return easterly to the Indian Seas, we shall there find that the possessions of Britain comprise "a vast empire on which the sun never sets, and whose bounds nature has not yet ascertained."

Whatever philosophers may advance on the subject of the wealth of nations depending on the encouragement given to agriculture, none will deny that the wealth and the influence of the British empire derive their source and their main-spring from commerce. It is to commerce we owe our colonies, and to our colonies the perfection of navigation. For, after all the objections that have been urged against the colonizing system, it is pretty evident that, without foreign possessions, we should have few seamen. The mere carrying-trade is precarious, and liable to be affected by every little incident that may involve the nation carrying it on, in its relations with contending powers. So long as the Portuguese maintained their territories and their dominion in the East, the Portuguese navigators stood the first in reputation; but no sooner had the Dutch deprived them of the best part of their possessions, than the whole of the carrying-trade

trade fell into the hands of the Dutch; and the Dutch flag maintained the superiority in the East, and was respectable in the West.

When the Dutch lost their colonies, the Americans snatched the remains of their carrying-trade, which, to a certain degree, they will preserve and, perhaps, improve, as long as they can remain in a state of neutrality; but, having no foreign possessions, the instant they go to war with a nation that has, their carrying-trade must fall to the ground. Such will be the case also with the Danes and the Swedes; and such has France found, by experience, to be her fate from the moment she lost her best colonies.

The number of hands required to work the ships that are employed in transporting to England the produce of our colonies, furnish for the navy, in time of war, an immediate supply of skilful and able-bodied seamen; giving it, at once, a decided superiority over that of all other nations. The French, the Dutch, and the Spaniards, can construct their ships fully as well as, and some of them, perhaps, better than, the English; but none of them can make such good seamen. The rough and resolute character that is necessary to form good sailors, would appear to be incompatible with the frivolous and flexile tempers of Frenchmen. Their natural versatility disqualifies them for situations that require steady perseverance; and the trifling gaiety of their disposition is ill suited to the order and discipline that are indispensable on board of a ship. In a gale of wind, it is said to be a matter of the greatest difficulty to prevail on a sufficient

sufficient number of Frenchmen, in a whole ship's company, to go aloft for the purpose of taking in the sails; and if the gale comes on suddenly, the odds are great that the masts are carried away, or the sails blown from the yards.

Both men and officers are averse to long voyages; and are seldom inclined to pass a friendly port. To possess the advantage of having such ports, in different parts of the world, is of the first importance to their navigation and commerce. They pay little attention to cleanliness, either in their persons or ships, and they are generally very much crowded; hence, a long voyage, without refreshments, is seldom unattended with disease and mortality.

The Dutch seamen are steady, persevering, and intrepid; and, of all nations, have maintained the hardest struggles with the English; but they are habitually slow and inactive. That they are not physically so, the crew of the Rattlesnake, a great part of which were Dutchmen, afforded a sufficient proof, when they engaged, in a gallant and active manner, the La Preneuse frigate in Algoa Bay. By example and a little practice, they overcome the dull and sluggish motion to which they have been accustomed, and soon become capable of prompt and vigorous action.

The Dutch sailors, it seems, are always glad of an opportunity to serve in English ships, where they have the reputation of being a quiet, orderly, and obedient people. The manner in which they are fed, in their own ships, is little calculated to give

them encouragement. The captains of the men of war are, at the same time, the purfers; and they feed their men by contract, which, stipulating for quantity only, leaves the quality to the discretion and the conscience of the captain. The Dutch ships of war that were sent out, with the governor and troops on board, to take possession of the Cape, had a remarkable long passage, which occasioned the Dutch sailors on board our ships, to observe, that the captain's musty peas, rancid pork, and black bread were not consumed, before which it would not be his interest to come into port where better articles were to be had. The same sailors got hold of some of their bread, which they carried through the streets of Cape Town, tied to the end of a stick, by way of a joke, it being so very black as to have more the appearance of animal excrement, baked in the sun, than of bread.

On the present plan of navigating their ships, the Dutch would find it impracticable to proceed from Europe to India without breaking the voyage. The unfavourable form of their vessels for moving quickly through the water, the little sail they carry, especially by night, the economical plan in which they are fitted out, forbidding the use of copper sheathing, and the bad provisions laid in for the people, are all against a long continued voyage. The mortality that sometimes prevails on board their Indiamen, even on short passages, is almost incredible. Mr. Thunberg informs us, and his veracity may be depended on, that the mortality on board the ship which carried him to the Cape, after a voyage of three months and a half from the Texel, amounted to one hundred and fifteen; that three other ships in the

the same fleet suffered still more, the *Hoenkoop* having buried one hundred and fifty-eight; the *William Vth* two hundred and thirty; and the *Jonge Samuel* of Zeeland one hundred and three men!

It may be considered, indeed, as next to a physical impossibility, for a Dutch ship to run from the Texel to Batavia without stopping. The possession we held of their old half-way house, the Cape, was so severe a blow to their navigation in the Eastern Seas, that, after the capture of Lucas's fleet in Saldanha Bay, there was not, in the course of five years, a single Dutch ship of any description to the southward of the line. The convenience of refreshing at the Cape is absolutely necessary to, and inseparably connected with, the Dutch trade to India. The Spaniards and Portuguese are equally averse to long passages, without refreshing, as the French and Dutch. The Danes, the Swedes, and Americans less so, because their provisions, in general, are more wholesome, and their ships more cleanly: yet, to all these, an intermediate port is always considered as an object worthy of attention.

To the English the intervention of a port, in the longest voyages, is the least important; and many commanders, of late years, have been so little solicitous on this point, as to prefer making the run at once, rather than suffer the delay and impediment occasioned by calling for refreshments on the passage. The commanders, indeed, of the British ships, in general, are so well acquainted with the nature of the fixed and periodical winds (the Trades and Monsoons), and with making the most

of those that are variable, that distant voyages are now reduced almost to a certain duration. The old system, still, perhaps, too rigidly adhered to in the navy, of endeavouring to place the ship's head in the direction of her intended port, is entirely exploded by the commanders of ships in the employ of the East India Company. It may answer the purpose in the British Channel, and near land, but is ill suited for a long voyage, through climates where the wind undergoes but little change. The squadron of men of war, which brought away the garrison, on the evacuation of the Cape, were twelve weeks on their passage, whilst the Sir Edward Hughes Indiaman, which left the Cape a week later, was three weeks in England sooner, than the said squadron. A passage from China, which formerly was reckoned from ten to twelve months, is now reduced to four months, and has been made in a hundred days.

This rapidity in skimming over the ocean, reduced, as nearly as the nature of such a loco-motion will allow, to a certainty, added to the superior quality, as well as abundance, of provisions that are laid in for the voyage, has rendered it a matter of perfect indifference to English seamen, in point of health, whether the run be made at once, or the voyage be broken for the sake of obtaining refreshments at some intermediate port. This being the case, the former method is usually preferred, and much delay, as well as expence, is thereby avoided.

Since, however, all maritime expeditions and transactions are, in a very peculiar degree, liable to accident and misfortune, it must always be considered as a desirable object to have some

neighbouring port to resort to in case of urgent necessity. In the short voyage to the ports of the Levant and others in the Mediterranean, Malta, and a number of other islands, present themselves as places of refuge for ships in distress. The bay of Madeira lies open to the outward bound ships in the West India trade, and the Western Islands, if necessary, may be approached on the return-voyage. And, although the Portuguese settlement of Rio de Janeiro in South America is not greatly out of the way of ships, in their outward-bound passage to the East Indies and China, nor the island of Saint Helena on their return, yet it cannot be denied that the Cape of Good Hope is infinitely preferable to both of these places, since it not only divides the passage more equally, but supplies, in general, better refreshments, and in greater plenty, and is alike convenient for shipping to touch at, whether in their outward or homeward-bound voyage.

In the early periods of foreign navigation, the ships of every nation, trading to the East Indies, found it convenient to call at the Cape for water and fresh provisions, long before it was taken possession of, in form, by any European power. The native Hottentots, at that time, were numerous in the Cape peninsula, and rich in cattle, which they supplied to passing ships on easy terms.

In the reign of John IId of Portugal, Bartholomew Diaz made the first successful attempt to reach the southern promontory of Africa, which he effected in the year 1487; but whether he

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quarrelled with the natives, and was driven away by them, as some historians have pretended, seems to be doubtful. Vasco-de-Gama, ten years afterwards, touched at the Cape, but made no attempt to form a settlement there. Next to Vasco-de-Gama, was the Portuguese Admiral Rio d'Infanté, who strongly recommended to his Government the establishment of a colony on the southern coast of Africa; and fixed upon the mouth of a river for that purpose, to which was given his own name, and which is now called the Great Fish River. Some other attempts, by different Portuguese navigators, were made to colonize the Cape, but they all failed.

After this the English and the Dutch were frequent visitors to the bays of the Cape.

The English, in their outward bound voyage, had a custom of burying their dispatches for the directors, and to point out where they were to be found by cutting a sentence, to that effect, on some large blue stone laid on a particular spot. The intelligence, engraven on the stone, was usually limited to the name of the ship and captain, the date of her arrival and departure, and it ended with "Look for letters (in such or such direction) from this stone." Two or three stones of this kind are built into the castle wall, and are still legible. The Dutch used to bury, on a certain spot on Robben Island, a register of the state of their vessels and Cargoes, outward bound, which the next ship, in coming home, took up and carried to Holland for the information of the Directors.

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In this manner the English, the Dutch, and the Portuguese, continued, for more than a century, to refresh at the Cape, without any design, on the part of the two former, of appropriating the soil; until the year 1620, when, as I have before observed, Andrew Shillinge and Humphrey Fitzherbert, two commanders of two fleets of English ships bound for Surat and Bantam, took a formal possession of the soil for, and in the name of, King James of Great Britain, because they discovered that the Dutch intended to establish a colony there the following year; and “because they thought it better that the Dutch, or any other nation whatsoever, should be his Majesty’s subjects in this place, than that his subjects should be subject to them or any other.” It was not, however, until a period of more than thirty years had expired after this event, that the representations of Van Riebek, stating the richness of the soil, the mildness of the climate, the advantage it would give to the Dutch, as a colony, over other nations, whose ships would all be obliged to touch there, and, above all, the barrier it would afford to their Indian dominions, prevailed on the directors of the Dutch East India Company to form a regular establishment at the Cape.

Their original intention was to limit their possessions to the Cape peninsula, and the two bays that are divided by the isthmus; considering it only, as it had hitherto been, as a place for refreshing and refitting their ships. But the number of settlers that crept in, from time to time, made it necessary to cross the isthmus, and, by presents and promises, to obtain from the natives the cession of a tract of land to which they gave the name of Hottentot’s Holland. The natives, it would seem, had no idea

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of resigning, for ever, to a foreign nation, the ground that was necessary for feeding their own cattle; but conceived it could only be intended for temporary use, and that, in time, they would depart from the country as other Europeans had hitherto done for the last century and an half; but, when they observed them building houses and fortifications, sowing and planting the ground, and rearing their own cattle, they began to be jealous of the encroachments of their new neighbours, and commenced hostilities with a view to expel them. These hostilities terminated, as is usual in such cases, in the further extension of the Dutch settlement, and in an increase of troops and colonists from Europe.

Still, however, the Dutch East India Company endeavoured to limit the Cape to the original design of a port for refreshing their ships. They threw every obstacle in the way of its becoming a flourishing settlement; allowed no trade whatsoever but what passed through the hands of their own servants, and made it dependent on the Governor-General of Batavia; concluding, that the settlers would thus be made equally submissive to their orders from Europe, and from the seat of their influence and wealth in the East.

A colony, in such a state, with their declining commerce, became a burden and an expence too heavy for them to bear; and little doubt was entertained of their willingness to dispose of it for a moderate sum of money, just before the French revolution and its destructive consequences unsettled the affairs of all Europe. As it never produced any surplus revenue, but, on the contrary,

contrary, was attended with considerable expence ; and, as they never applied it to any other use themselves, but that of refreshing their ships, which they could always continue to do, in time of peace, when in the hands of another power, it could not be supposed they would be averse to part with it ; and, accordingly, overtures to this effect were intended to be made by England about the time when the above unfortunate event took place.

Having shewn the necessity that the ships of most of the maritime powers of Europe find of refreshing at the Cape, it is obviously the interest of all these powers that it should remain in the hands of that nation which would have the least motive for imposing restrictions on foreign visitors ; and it is scarcely necessary to observe, that, from the general policy of England, and the favourable circumstances in which her commerce and navigation are now placed, the Cape in her possession would always be open to foreign shipping, and refreshments supplied to them on equal terms as to her own.

I have stated its vast importance to England in a military point of view : it now remains to consider it as a naval station. First, as a port for refreshing and refitting the ships of the East India Company : secondly, as a station for ships of war, commanding the entrance into the Indian Seas : thirdly, as affording, by its geographical position, a ready communication with every part of the globe. After which, I shall endeavour to point out the disadvantages that may result to the East India Company, in the

present war, from the French or Dutch retaining possession of the Cape.

If, in the first place, the advantages resulting from the possession of this settlement were confined to the furnishing of refreshments for the shipping of the East India Company, either on their outward or their homeward-bound voyage, I am willing to suppose the importance of them, however great, might be considered as inadequate to counterbalance the expence of keeping up the necessary establishment, although I have shewn that, under a prudent administration of the revenues, this expence would be reduced to a mere trifle. The directors, indeed, thought they had sufficiently proved, by the measures they adopted with regard to the Cape, that it was by no means necessary for their trade as a place of refreshment. The directors, however, happened to be mistaken; for they soon discovered that, although English seamen could bear the run between England and India, the native blacks, which they are under the necessity of employing, in time of war, could not do it; and it is to be apprehended they will but too soon discover that unseasoned troops, sent directly from England, are no more able to bear an uninterrupted voyage, than the Lascars. It will remain, therefore, for the directors to find out some other place, in lieu of the Cape, since their exclusion from it, a circumstance which, indeed, their conduct seemed to invite.

But, as I have already observed, all maritime affairs are peculiarly liable to casualties, and, on this consideration, one would

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be led to conclude that a friendly port must always be held as a valuable acquisition to all who are concerned in such affairs; and more especially to the East India Company, whose concerns are of such vast magnitude. The number of ships that meet with stress of weather, and suffer from the tremendous storms that are frequent in the winter season, on L'Aguillas bank, must always stamp a value on the Cape, and make its ports and bays particularly desirable on the homeward-bound voyage.

That instances of distress do happen, and not unfrequently, in situations where the only hope of safety can be placed on the Cape, or in some of its bays, might be proved in a number of cases that happened while it remained in the hands of Great Britain; but I will content myself with mentioning one single instance. The Countess of Sutherland Indiaman experienced a most violent gale of wind between Madagascar and the coast of Africa, in which, after losing all her masts, she became a wreck at the mercy of the winds and waves for several days; and, at length, was momentarily expected to sink, when, on the weather clearing up, they descried the land of Africa to the southward of the spot where the Grosvenor was lost; and being now in the stream of the current, they contrived to fetch into Kromme River's Bay, a small Cove in Camtoos, or Saint Francis, or Content Bay, for it has a variety of names.

Having here procured a supply of water and other refreshments, and rigged up a kind of jury masts, she endeavoured to proceed to Simon's Bay for the purpose of undergoing a more thorough repair; but, unfortunately, she met with a second gale

of wind, just as she was approaching the entrance of the bay; and in this gale she must inevitably have perished, had not Captain Hotham, with his Majesty's ship the Adamant, gone out to her immediate assistance, and succeeded in towing her off the rocky coast, towards which she was rapidly drifting. Now this single ship and her cargo were said to be estimated at the value of three hundred thousand pounds; a sum of money equal to the maintenance of the civil, military, and contingent expences of the Cape, for a whole year.

Had the Cape, at this time, been in the hands of the Dutch, the fate of the Countess of Sutherland must have been inevitable. In war she would have been taken; and in peace she would have been suffered to go on shore; for the Dutch possess neither the activity nor the willingness to give speedy assistance to ships in cases of distress.

There is no place, in the homeward-bound voyage from India, so proper or so convenient for the valuable fleets of the East India Company to assemble at for convoy, in time of war, as the Cape of Good Hope. Here, at a very reasonable rate, their crews might be refreshed with fruits, vegetables, and fresh provisions. Salt beef, for the rest of the voyage, might here also be laid in, affording, thus, a considerable increase of tonnage in each ship for stowing goods.

I took notice, in the former volume of this work, of the salt provisions that might be prepared at Algoa Bay for victualling the fleets of the East India Company. Since that was written I

have again visited this bay; and, having paid particular attention to the surrounding country, and the state of the cattle, I have no hesitation in saying, that when once the disturbances between the boors and the Kaffers are terminated, which in time of peace would easily be effected, large quantities of good salt beef might be cured there at a very moderate rate. The cattle that could conveniently be brought down from the valuable districts of the Snowy Mountains and Bruynjes Hoogté, would arrive at the bay in a very different condition from those that are driven from the same districts to the Cape, across a desolate and barren tract of country, some hundred miles in extent, on which a blade of grass is not produced.

We procured, at Algoa Bay, as good beef, in every respect, as the markets of London supply; and, at the distance of a few miles, there is an inexhaustible fund of strong bay salt. The sheep are also good of the kind, being the broad-tailed breed, similar to those of the upper regions of Asia, which, however, are inferior to any of ours, both in the weight of the carcase, the flavour of the meat, and the quality of the wool. Corn might also be raised, to any amount, in the lower districts of Graaf Reynet, bordering on the sea-coast; and salt butter, soap, and candles, procured on moderate terms.

An establishment at this bay for curing salt provisions would, no doubt, be a prodigious saving, as well as convenience, to the East India Company. The products of the coast might easily be transported to the Cape, in the summer season, in small coasting vessels, and deposited in their warehouses there. The saving of
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of a third of the expences of bread and salt provisions, which would, at least, by these means be effected, must certainly be an object in so vast a concern as theirs, and more than counterbalance the supposed great expence of supporting the settlement.

If, in the second place, we consider the Cape as a naval station, commanding the entrance into the Indian Seas, its importance, in this respect, will be no less obvious. The present superiority of our navy would render a small squadron fully adequate to guard the passage round the Cape, and effectually to defeat any attempt of an enemy to disturb the peace of India, as well as to prevent them from giving the least annoyance to our trade in the Indian Seas. If foreign ships, in their voyage from Europe to India, find it necessary to refresh their crews at the Cape, how much more urgent would the necessity be when the same ships were crowded with troops. The French, in all their former wars, in the short voyage to the Isles of France and Bourbon, refreshed and refitted at the Cape. These islands, as I have already observed, instead of being able to victual a fleet, barely furnish provisions sufficient for the inhabitants and a small garrison. By the supply of provisions and naval stores sent to them from the Cape, Suffrein was enabled to maintain his ground in the Indian Seas, without which he would very soon have been obliged to give up the contest. In the late war our cruizers from the Cape kept the Southern Ocean completely clear of the enemy's ships, and allowed the Indian squadron to make such choice of their cruising ground, that between the two, not a French frigate escaped, nor scarcely a single privateer remained

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on the Mauritius station for some time before the close of the war.

It is to be hoped, but by no means certain, that France, without the loss of an incalculable number of men, a loss, indeed, to which she would pay little regard, will never be able to make any impression on India but by the assistance of a fleet; and it will be our own fault if we allow them any such fleet in the Eastern Seas; for if the Cape should be in our possession, she will find it utterly impracticable to assemble, much more to victual, any such fleet. The want of a suitable place to refresh at must render every attempt to cope with us in those seas abortive. So well were they aware, in the late war, of the futility of any expedition from the Isles of France and Bourbon, without the assistance of the Cape of Good Hope, that they preferred the fatal experiment of colonizing Egypt, in the hope, perhaps, of proceeding at some future time by the Red Sea to India. They knew that, even if they had succeeded in getting out to these islands a sufficient number of ships and troops, yet without the supplies which they have usually on such occasions drawn from the Cape, any such expedition must necessarily here have ended.

By our holding the Cape, the trade of every other nation to India and China may be considered as entirely at the mercy of England, an advantage, however, of which she is under no necessity of availing herself. During the northern confederacy, several Danes came in to refresh, although they knew they would be taken, or at least detained. With respect to the Americans, who,

who, of late, by their carrying-trade alone, have worked themselves into the greatest portion, next to England, of the India and China trade, notwithstanding the favourable situation of their country to an extended commerce with India, they would find it extremely inconvenient to be obliged to relinquish the accommodation of refreshing their crews, and disposing of part of their cargoes, at the Cape of Good Hope; from whence, indeed, in case of any rupture, their trade might, at any time, be completely checked, a circumstance which would operate as a security for the preservation of amity and a good understanding with that commercial nation. Had we, indeed, been fortunate enough to have retained this settlement, there is every reason to believe the indulgencies granted to their trade here might have been an important consideration with them, in the renewal of a commercial treaty with England.

After what has been stated with regard to the healthiness of the climate, exemplified in the small degree of mortality among the troops, and in the vigour and stability that their constitutions acquired, it is scarcely necessary to add that the same salutary effects equally prevailed in the navy on this station. The mortality, indeed, among the seamen, was still less, probably on account of their being less exposed to the summer heats, and to their having fewer opportunities of committing irregularities. There was generally a difference of six or eight degrees in the temperature of the bay and the town. When the thermometer, for instance, in Cape Town was at 84° , it stood no higher than 76° on board the ships in Table Bay.

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The moderate expence at which a fleet can here be maintained is, likewise, an advantage not to be overlooked. The sailor may be subsisted equally cheap with the soldier. It has been calculated, after making the usual allowances for waste, damage, and interest of money, on ships provisions sent out from England, to say nothing of the premium received on bills given in exchange for paper currency, that the sailor at the Cape can be furnished with his ration of fresh beef or mutton, biscuit, and wine, at one-fourth part of the rate which the same ration costs the government in salt provisions and biscuit sent out from England. A pint of wine, as I have already stated, costs no more than threepence, and might be reduced to half that price by abolishing the monopoly; and the Cape brandy, though at present bad, on account of the defective manner of distillation, and the improper ingredients employed, may be had at a much cheaper rate than West India rum, and would, in a little time, under the encouragement of the British Government, have been made in its quality equally good of its kind.

I am not provided with sufficient documents to give the annual expenditure of the squadron that was stationed at the Cape; but I am convinced it must have been much more moderate, in the articles of fresh meat, biscuit, and wine, than for the same number of ships and men, on any other station whatsoever. In the year 1797 the squadron consumed 1,085,266 pounds of fresh meat, and 1,167,995 pounds of biscuit, or about 3000 pounds of each a day; besides 184,358 pounds of soft bread, 217,813 pounds of flour, and 1066 bushels of wheat; it consumed, moreover, 1,226,738 pints of wine, and 244,904

pints of spirits; together with a considerable quantity of butter, vinegar, raisins, peas and beans, all the produce of the colony, and all of them articles which were to be procured at a moderate rate. I conclude, from the quantity expended, that, in this year, the squadron, supposing it to consist of three thousand men, was subsisted mostly on Cape produce; and, therefore, that it cost the Government little more than one-fourth part of what it would have done on most other stations.

With respect to the wear and tear of the tackle and furniture, I have understood it to be very considerable on this station, owing to the frequent gales of wind, and the exposed situation of the ships. Admiral Pringle used to say, that every south-easterly gale, of a week's duration, cost his Majesty some thousand pounds. But this expence might, probably, be obviated by forming an establishment at Saldanha Bay.

The geographical position of the Cape of Good Hope, throws a vast weight into the scale of its importance to England. Its happy situation, with regard to climate, and the productions of the soil, stamp its value as a depositary of troops and seamen; and its relative position on the globe enhances that value by the ready communication it commands with almost every part of the world. We have seen with what expedition more than two thousand troops were thrown from hence into India, to the very walls of Seringapatam; and, on another occasion, twelve hundred effective men into Egypt. With equal facility and dispatch could the same, or a greater, number have been conveyed to the east coast of North America, the West India islands, or the

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west coast of South America. At a month's notice, the whole coast of Brazil could be lined with cruisers from the Cape. The whole eastern coast of Africa, and the various islands contiguous to it, are at the mercy of the power who holds the Cape; and the large island of Madagascar may be approached in ten or twelve days, those of France and Bourbon in much less than a month, the Red Sea in five or six weeks, and the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel in seven or eight weeks. These passages will certainly depend much on the season of the year in which they are made, but when this is properly chosen, the different places may be arrived at within the periods here mentioned.

If, at any time, troops might be wanted in the West Indies, the homeward-bound East Indiamen might be employed to transport them thither from the Cape without retarding their passage more than sixteen or eighteen days, as the common practice of crossing the line is now as far to the westward as 26° west longitude. Detachments of the Hottentot corps would be well calculated for service in the West India islands. Should, at any future period, the French resume their projects on India by the Red Sea (which they will certainly not fail to do whenever an opportunity presents itself), in three months from the time it was first known in England, a force from the Cape might be in possession of the straits of Babelmandel, and, by thus anticipating, completely frustrate their designs, which, with the Cape in their possession, or in that of the Dutch, they might easily accomplish.

But if the geographical position of the Cape gives it the pre-eminence, as a great naval and military station, as the barrier and master-key of our Indian possessions, it still derives other advantages from this very circumstance, which, though they are to be considered as of a subordinate nature, are highly deserving of notice: these are the turn it is capable of giving to the commerce of India and China; and the encouragement and protection it might afford to the Southern Whale Fishery; but as these considerations are too important to be slightly passed over, it may be proper to reserve the observations that occur on them for a subsequent chapter; and, in the mean time, proceed to point out the disadvantages that may result to Britain, and particularly to the East India Company, from the Cape being placed in the possession of the Dutch, or, which must be considered as the same thing, of the French, the former being so much reduced and degraded by the latter, that they no longer are, and in all probability never can revive as, a separate and an independent nation.

We have already seen the vast advantages that Great Britain derived to her trade and possessions in India, during the late war, by holding this barrier in her own hands; let us now consider what our situation is, in these respects, in the present state of things. The Cape of Good Hope is in the possession of an enemy; Rio de la Plata belongs to Spain, who, when she has been plundered of all she can give, will, most probably, be forced into acts of hostility against us; and the Isles of France and Bourbon now derive their usual supplies from the Cape, for the

the use of the squadron which, we may presume, is already there. These three important stations, all hostile to us, form a triangle, within the boundary lines of which every ship, bound to or from the Indies, must necessarily pass; and the respective positions of these three points are so favourable for annoying our trade, that, were the skill and activity of the enemies who hold them commensurate with our own, which, fortunately for us, they certainly are not, it would be almost an hopeless attempt for a ship to escape.

It may be urged, perhaps, that the great extent which may be taken in crossing the equator from eighteen to twenty-six degrees of longitude, leaving it to the discretion of the commanders of our East India Company's ships to keep the American shore close on board, or to pass it at a distance; and the equally great extent that may be chosen in doubling the Cape, from the thirty-fourth to the forty-second degree of latitude, would render the cruising of the enemy so precarious, that the odds of escaping them are greatly in our favour. It is granted that it may be so; and I am, moreover, persuaded that neither the French nor the Dutch would attempt to intercept our outward-bound ships, for these two reasons; first, because their value is so much less on the outward than on the homeward-bound passage; and secondly, on account of the uncertainty of falling in with them, as well as in consideration of the violent storms their cruizers would be almost sure to encounter off the Cape of Good Hope.

But

But these circumstances take a very different turn on the homeward-bound voyage. The danger is then increased in a much greater proportion than the value of the ships is augmented. If, indeed, we are willing to allow the enemy to employ the same means that we should ourselves do, in a like situation, the capture of many of our ships may be considered as inevitable.

In the first place, the danger of the straits of Sunda presents itself to our homeward-bound China ships. A small squadron from Batavia, stationed at Nicholas Point on the north of Java, where there is good anchorage, or at Anjerie Point in the middle of the Strait, at both of which places it may receive a constant supply of refreshments, would be able to intercept every ship that attempted to pass the Strait.

These straits, it is true, may be avoided by taking the eastern passage; but here a new and no less danger presents itself from the port of Manilla. As all ships, making this passage, must go within sight of Luconia, it would be difficult for them to avoid an active squadron cruising off this island. Thus,

“ Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim ; ”

by avoiding one danger they fall into a greater.

Admitting, however, that either through the exertions of our cruisers, or the inactivity of the enemy, the China fleet should escape both Scylla and Charibdis; the next dangerous point

point that occurs is the L'Aguilla's Bank, where we can have no cruizers to protect our trade, on account of the heavy storms that prevail there, and the want of a friendly port to refit and refresh our ships. The current, that sets along the outer margin of this bank, moves at the rate of forty or fifty miles a day, in the winter months, in direct opposition to the north-westerly winds; a circumstance so well known, that all our ships strive to keep in the stream of the current, which sweeps them round the Cape against the wind. The enemy's cruizers would find no difficulty in running from False Bay, in the winter months, close along shore as far as Algoa Bay, which our ships have frequently done in three or four days; and, by skirting the outer margin of L'Aguilla's Bank, they can, at any time, return by the stream of the current, even against a gale of wind. Thus might their ships of war from the Cape track our homeward-bound Indiamen, and greatly annoy our trade; for, on the return-voyage, they have much less scope in doubling the Cape than when outward-bound. Indeed, in the winter season, it is almost impracticable to double the Cape at any great distance from it. The attempt to do it has generally failed, and always been attended with the greatest danger of losing the ships.

Supposing them, however, to have escaped all these dangers; admitting them to have passed the island of Manilla, the Straits of Sunda, and the Cape of Good Hope; there still remains one point against which nothing can protect them but a superior fleet from England. In whatever degree of latitude the Cape of Good Hope may be doubled, in the homeward-bound passage, all our ships run nearly upon the same line to Saint Helena, so
nearly,

nearly, indeed, that I suppose they scarcely deviate twenty leagues from the same track. If then a squadron of the enemy's ships from the Cape should cruize to windward of this island, and within sight of it, our India fleet must necessarily fall into their hands. And on this cruising ground, where the wind is fixed and steady, the water smooth, and the weather always fine, the enemy's vessels may remain for any length of time.

The enormous expence, and, indeed, the impracticability, of affording effective convoys to our Indian trade, under such unfavourable circumstances, must be obvious to every one. The expence of one effective convoy to be stationed off Saint Helena, as long as the Cape remains in the possession of the French, to say nothing of the serious inconvenience of detaching ships of war from more important stations, would be much more than sufficient to maintain the whole establishment of the Cape for a twelvemonth; and, in all probability, more than the profits might amount to of the cargoes so convoyed. Saint Helena, besides, is not adequate to furnish any supplies for such a convoy. With the greatest exertions a few refreshments are raised for the use of the island, and the surplus is disposed of at a most extravagant rate for the use of the ships of the East India Company. They have few horned cattle, and not one of these can there be killed without the consent of the Governor. Yet this is the only place we now have left where a convoy can be assembled. How incalculable then were the advantages of possessing a middle point between India and Europe, where every necessary refreshment might be had in the greatest abundance; and which, instead of being a point of danger and annoyance as it now

is, was the bulwark of security to our Indian trade and possessions.

Those who may feel inclined to console themselves for the loss of the Cape, by reflecting that nothing of serious moment happened to our Indian fleets and possessions during the American war, should recollect the great change of circumstances that has taken place since that event. Holland, at that time, though an impoverished and declining nation, was independent on France, and had her own possessions in India to protect; and France, though equally then, as now, zealous to accomplish the ruin of our wealth and power in India, which she had long in vain endeavoured to emulate, had but just the means of giving a feeble protection to her territorial possessions in that quarter. Armies were not raised, nor fleets equipped, with that facility under the monarchy, as under republican tyranny, or consular despotism. Mr. Delacroix took great pains to impress on the mind of Lord Malmesbury the accession of strength that France had acquired by her republican form of government. “*Nous ne sommes plus dans la décrépitude de la France monarchique, mais dans toute la force d’une république adoléscente.*”

France having now no such possessions in India to protect, her grand object will be, in co-operation with the Dutch, to endeavour to hold in their hands, by rendering it impregnable, the barrier of all India. When this is once effected, she will find little difficulty in assembling, at her own islands of

France and Bourbon, a sufficient number of troops and transports to disturb the peace of our Indian settlements. Her aim will not be that of fighting our fleets of war, nor of making a direct attack on our Eastern possessions, but to abet and assist the native powers against us, with a view rather of destroying our empire in India, than any hope she can possibly form of establishing one of her own. Without funds and without credit she can have little prospect of amassing wealth by fair trade and honest industry; and will therefore attempt, by every means she can think of employing, to effect the ruin of ours; by disturbing the peace of our settlements through her intriguing agents; by forming alliances with those who are disposed to be hostile towards us; and by assisting them with her troops.

It was in this point of view that the French considered the Cape of Good Hope to be more important than the Isle of Ceylon, the cession of which, I have reason to believe, they never meant to dispute vigorously in negociation, being rather determined to stand a contest for the restoration of the Cape *nominally* to its ancient possessors. If, however, in order to obtain a peace, we were reduced to the necessity of accepting the alternative of either, as probably was the case, it became, no doubt, a very serious and interesting consideration, to estimate their comparative value and importance. The one rated as yielding a revenue of nearly a million a year, with a harbour not surpassed in the whole world; the key of all India; and a place, in the hands of a powerful enemy, from whence all India might be assaulted—the other, a barren promontory (for such it was generally

generally esteemed) at a great distance from our Indian territories, affording little or no revenue, and maintained at a great expence.

"If we give up Ceylon," has observed Lord Macartney, "being situated at the extremity of the peninsula of India, it would become an immediate and terrific enemy to us in that quarter, as commanding the power of invading from thence both the coast of Malabar and Coromandel. To a maritime power the excellent harbour of Trincomalée is a jewel of inestimable value; it holds the bay of Bengal at its mercy, and affords every facility of overawing and controuling the navigation of the Straits of Sunda and Malacca. Our Asiatic possessions, commerce, and marine, would consequently lie open to the depredations of the masters of Ceylon.... Admitting then that Ceylon should preponderate, if put into the scale against the Cape, let it not be forgotten, however, that *the Cape in an enemy's hands may become a powerful instrument for their recovering Ceylon.*"

There can be no question that the French were extremely glad we gave up the worse, under the idea of its being an instrument in their hands of taking from us the better. Ceylon to them was of no great value. It furnishes no supplies for an army or a navy, and would always be at the mercy of that power which could bring a superior fleet into the Indian Seas; and we have shewn that no such fleet of an enemy could be assembled there, nor victualled, nor provisioned, whilst the Cape

of Good Hope remained a British colony. It would have been a desirable object then to retain possession of a station which would effectually have excluded them from the Indian Seas; and which always would have enabled us to confine them to their useless islands of France and Bourbon.

Of one thing England may be well assured, that the destruction of its commerce, as the source from whence its power and affluence are derived, is a sentiment so deeply rooted in the mind of the Corsican that, so long as it continues to flourish, his irascible and vindictive temper will not allow him to keep on any terms of friendship with us. He is well aware that our commerce is our great support, that, as Mr. Delacroix observed, it enabled us to subsidize all Europe against them; and that if he could once break up our commerce to India and China, and shut us out from the Mediterranean, the grand bulwark that now stands between him and universal sovereignty would, in a great degree, be removed.

Should his views, unhappily for the world, ever be accomplished, an age of barbarism would return, ten times darker than that which followed the irruption of the northern hordes. A deadly blow would be struck at once to the liberty of the press; nothing would be written, nor printed, nor tolerated, but what the sovereign despot should find conducive to his universal sway. The time would then come when *legit ut clericus*, instead of saving a man from death would be the sure means of bringing him to his end.

It

It behoves his Majesty's Government then to be upon its guard, and to watch the points where we are most vulnerable, in this respect, with unremitting attention; but above all, after providing for the security of the empire, to crush, in the cradle, the designs of the French upon India. The first step to this desirable object will be the recovery of the Cape of Good Hope; or, which would answer pretty nearly the same purpose, the destruction of the shipping that, from time to time, might be assembled there. An expedition for this purpose would require no troops; and, having once established our security at home, so that we can venture to detach a squadron sufficient for such an enterprize, this is an object not unworthy the consideration of Government. I have already observed that Table Bay, in the opinion of naval people, is favourable for putting such a design in execution. I should imagine that Simon's Bay is still more so, there being no works, or none of any consequence, to annoy our shipping from the shore.

There are two small forts only, one on each side of the anchorage, both of which would be immediately silenced by a ship of the line. The wind, in the winter season, when shipping frequent Simon's Bay, is always favourable for running directly into it, and equally so for standing out into the Great Bay False, in every part of which there is good anchorage. A superior fleet will, therefore, at all times, take or destroy every ship that may be found there; and the shipping on the Cape station are under an absolute necessity of going either into Simon's or Saldanha Bay in the winter months, and of remaining there from May to

September inclusive. Saldanha Bay has yet no defences whatsoever, but I understand it was the intention of the Dutch Government to fortify the entrance.

Having now pointed out some of the principal conveniences that the Cape possesses as a naval station, it will be right to mention the disadvantages under which it labours in this point of view. The most serious of these, which, indeed, is the only material one that I am acquainted with, is the want of a secure and convenient harbour for refitting, repairing, or building ships. The two principal bays that are resorted to by shipping, one in the summer, the other in the winter months, are entirely open, and exposed to the two prevailing winds, the north-west and the south-east; nor does it appear to be practicable, by any expence, to render them secure and sheltered, nor to construct any kind of dock or harbour for the reception of large ships, and scarcely even of small craft.

If any thing of this kind were to be attempted it could only extend to the accommodation of the latter, and the only place for this purpose would be at Rogge Bay, where nature has laid an excellent foundation of rock, close to which there is a considerable depth of water, where the swell of the sea is broken by the jutting points on which are erected the Amsterdam and the Chavonne batteries. At all events, this would be a much better and more convenient landing place than at the present wooden wharf, which is barely kept up at an enormous annual expence.

In

In all other parts of the bay an attempt to make any kind of harbour would be fruitless. The tide barely rises five feet, and the constant rolling swell in the winter season would always choak the entrance of any dock with sand. Thus the mouth of the Salt River is alternately open and blocked up with sand.

The annexed chart of Table Bay was constructed by order of Governor Van de Graaf in the year 1786, and has been found, by a diligent examination, to be extremely accurate. The anchoring-ground in general is tolerably good, but the shifting of the sand leaves bare sometimes whole ridges of the same kind of hard blue schistus that appears every where on the west shore of the bay. These ridges are so sharp, that a cable coming across them is sure to be cut in pieces. This has happened so frequently that the bay is full of anchors, which have never been fished up; and these contribute equally with the rocks, to cut and chafe the cables of other ships. If some pains be not taken to remove the anchors, the number of which increase every year, there will not, in time, be a clear anchorage for a single large ship. When the Dutch Admiral Dekker's squadron was blown out of Table Bay in February last they left six or eight anchors behind.

Admiral Pringle, I understand, was of opinion that the inconvenience arising from the rocks and the lost anchors was in some degree remediable, by sinking mooring-chains for the large ships, instead of their lying at anchor. In the south-east winds, which blow from September to the end of April, and which is the season when all ships bound for the Cape resort to Table Bay, there

there is no other danger than that of being driven out to sea from the wear and tear of the cables; though the water is not smooth, yet the sea is not high, and it is next to impossible for a ship to go on shore, unless on the south point of Robben Island, which they have always time enough to avoid, the distance being seven or eight miles. Within this island and the continent there is excellent anchorage, where ships so driven out usually bring up. Here, too, ships intending to come into Table Bay generally wait the abatement of a south-east wind, if it should happen to blow too strong for their working up against it. This island is too small, and at too great a distance, to afford the least shelter to Table Bay in the north-west winds that blow in the winter months.

The frequency, the strength, and the long duration of the south-east winds are attended with considerable disadvantage to commerce, it being sometimes impracticable to ship or to land goods for many successive days.

These winds are very uncertain in their duration, there being scarcely two years in which their periods do not vary. The Dutch used to bring their ships round about the beginning of September; but as Simon's Bay is safe, at all times of the year, for a few ships, the English protracted the time of entering Table Bay to the beginning of October, yet, in the year 1799, his Majesty's ship the Sceptre, with seven others, were driven on shore on the fifth of November.

The

The loss of this ship was attended with many distressful circumstances. At one o'clock she fired a *feu-de-joye*, in commemoration of the anniversary of the popish plot; at ten the same evening scarcely a vestige was to be seen, but the fragments of the wreck scattered on the strand, in myriads of pieces, not a single plank remaining whole nor two attached together. Captain Edwards, his son, with ten other officers, and near three hundred seamen and marines perished on this melancholy occasion. Young Edwards, a fine boy of about fourteen years, was found the next day with a bible in his bosom; the father not till several days after. The following morning exhibited a dismal scene of distress. The strand was strewn with dead carcases, most of them mangled in so shocking a manner by the shattered fragments of the ship, that they were obliged to bury them in holes upon the beach; the bodies that could be taken up whole were placed in waggon and carried to the usual burying-ground.

The Oldenburg, a Danish man of war of 64 guns, went on shore the same day, but having drifted upon a smooth sandy beach, the crew were saved, as were those of all the other ships. The Sceptre was unfortunately thrown upon a ledge of rocks near the mouth of the Salt River. Captain Edwards, it seems, conformably to the custom of the navy, employed every means to bring her up while drifting, and, having lost their last anchor, bent even the fore-castle guns to the cable. The Dutch, knowing from experience how ineffectual is every attempt when once a ship has parted her cables, pay no further attention to her safety

safety but, setting some of the head sails, they run her ashore between the wharf and the centre of the sea-lines, upon a smooth sandy beach, by which means, though the ship be lost, the crew are saved.

261 Our officers seem to be divided in opinion as to the preference of Table Bay or Simon's Bay. They are certainly both defective, but the latter would appear to be the more secure, from the circumstance of few, if any, ships having ever been known to drive on shore from their anchors, whilst scarcely a season passes without some being lost in Table Bay. In the winter months, when the wind blows from north to north-west, forty or fifty ships may lie at anchor perfectly secure in Simon's Bay; and eight or ten may be sufficiently sheltered in the strongest south-easters. The Great Bay False, of which this is an indent or cove, was so little known at the time of the capture by the British forces, that Rear-Admiral Pringle, in the year 1797, directed it to be surveyed and sounded, in consequence of which the exact situation was ascertained of a very dangerous rock, placed directly in the passage of ships into Simon's Bay; a rock, of the existence of which the Dutch were entirely ignorant. The annexed chart with the soundings is a copy of the said survey.

The usual months in which ships resort to Simon's Bay are from May to September inclusive. The distance from Cape Town, being twenty-four miles, and the badness of the road, mostly deep sand and splashes of water, render the communication

munication at all times difficult; but more especially so in the winter; and few supplies are to be had at Simon's Town; a name with which a collection of about a dozen houses has most unworthily been dignified.

The necessity of ships of war being sent round into Simon's Bay for five months in the year might be attended with very serious consequences to the safety of the colony, as far, at least, as depended on the exertions of the navy belonging to the station. Being a lee port, the chances are greatly against their being able to work up to Table Bay, and still less to Saldanha Bay, to afford any assistance in the event of an attack by an enemy's fleet; which, without any interruption or molestation, might disembark troops, and land artillery, stores, and ammunition at Robben Island, or any of the windward bays.

This being the case, it would seem more desirable that the ships of war upon the station should winter in Saldanha Bay, being not only a windward port with respect to Cape Town, but one of the best harbours, perhaps, in the whole world. Here any number of ships may lie in perfect security at all seasons of the year, either to the northward of the entrance in Hoetjes Bay, from whence they can at all times get out in the winter months, or to the southward in summer, when, with equal facility, the south-easterly winds will at any time carry them out. On the west side of Hoetjes Bay, nature has erected a granite pier, against the sides of which ships may be brought as to the

side of a quay; and it terminates to the northward in a fine smooth sandy beach, where boats may always land with safety. The position of Marcus Island, in the entrance, a solid block of granite, is peculiarly happy for protecting the bay, to which a battery erected upon it and mounted with heavy cannon would be fully competent. The different points also jutting into the bay are well calculated to provide for its defence.

The situation of Saldanha Bay is much more convenient than that of the peninsula for receiving the supplies afforded by the country. The deep sandy isthmus, whose heavy roads have been the destruction of multitudes of cattle, would be entirely avoided; and its distance from the corn districts, which is the most material article of consumption, is much less than that of the Cape. Its situation, with regard to all the northern parts of the colony, is much more convenient than Cape Town; and equally so for those who inhabit the distant district of Graaf Reynet, and who usually pass over the Roode Sand Kloof.

It may be asked, then, how it has happened, at the first foundation of the settlement, that the preference was given to Table Bay, which possesses not a single convenience for shipping; and is, at the best, no better than an open and dangerous road? The answer has already been given in the last chapter, where it was observed, that the clear and copious stream of water rushing out of the Table Mountain, had determined the site of the Town. Unfortunately, no such stream of water falls
into

into Saldanha Bay; nor has any spring yet been discovered in the vicinity of its shores, that has been considered as sufficient to supply the demands of a small squadron for fresh water. I must observe, however, that the trials hitherto made have been very insufficient. Indeed, I know of none but that of the late Sir Hugh Christian, whose failure in this attempt I have already had occasion to notice. It may be observed, in the annexed chart of the coasts from Table Bay to Saldanha Bay, that in every part there are abundance of springs spontaneously bursting out of the ground, for not one of these have ever been dug for, nor a spade put into the ground in order to open the conduits and suffer them to run more freely. If, indeed, we consider for a moment the situation of this low sandy belt of land, stretching along the northern coast, common sense must convince us that there is plenty of water at no great distance below the surface. It is bounded on the east, at the distance only of seventy miles by a chain of mountains, whose summits are from two to nearly five thousand feet high; and all the waters, from both sides of these mountains, fall upon this narrow plain. A great part of them, it is true, sink into the Berg River, but the Berg River itself is on a level with Saldanha Bay, into which, indeed, the whole body of it might, with great ease, be carried, as I mentioned in the first volume, where I also noticed the objections against such a measure. The spring at *Witte Klip*, the White Rock, about six miles to the northward of Hoetjes Bay, seems amply sufficient for the supply of a large fleet of ships, if collected and brought to the bay in pipes, the expence of which could not exceed a few thousand

I sand

land pounds. Even should this not be found sufficient for the purposes of the fleet and the necessary establishment consequential to its becoming the naval station, a measure might be adopted which could not fail of securing a constant supply of fresh water to any amount. This would be effected by bringing it in pipes from the Berg River, which never fails in the driest weather, and the surface of which, contrary to almost all the other rivers of the colony, is very little sunk below the general surface of the country. I should think that ten thousand pounds would go a great way towards accomplishing this object, so important to every nation whose shipping trade to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. Were this once effected, the interest of the capital expended in the undertaking would be more than defrayed by an additional port duty of ten dollars or two pounds sterling for each ship; a mere trifle, when compared to the ease and security in which ships would here ride at anchor, and thus avoid the wear and tear of Table Bay, besides the conveniency of careening and repairing; and, above all, the perfect safety in which they would remain in all winds and at all seasons of the year.

There can be little doubt, if a naval establishment was once formed at Saldanha Bay, that many coasting vessels and fishing ships would be constructed here, as it affords every convenience that could be required for building ships, which would be the means of increasing the coasting trade, and especially in the article of timber, the produce of the colony. Whether any of the forest trees of South Africa are suitable for building ships
seems

seems, as yet, a doubtful matter. Hitherto they have not had any trial. With respect to size and form they are liable to no objections, and there can be little doubt that, by felling them at a proper time, and seasoning them in such a manner as the climate may require, they would be found to answer all the purposes that might be wanted, not only for the hull of a ship but also for masts and yards. So little did they know, in the Cape, of the resources of the colony, with respect to the timber, that of the forty-four distinct species of forest trees, of the wood of which I procured specimens, that were delivered to Government by Lord Macartney, not more than six or eight were in partial use; of the rest the names even were unknown.

The only bay within the limits of the colony, to the northward, is that of Saint Helena, which, by land from Hoetjes Bay is little more than fifteen miles. In shape and situation it resembles Table Bay, but wants the attractions of the latter both in respect of the quality of the contiguous land and the quantity of water. Whalers sometimes anchor in this bay, where, from the remote and undisturbed situation, so many whales constantly resort in the winter months, that they seldom find any difficulty of making up the deficiency of their cargo. It might be prudent, however, in the power who possesses the Cape, to have a guard frigate stationed in this bay, and another in Algoa Bay. The other parts of the coast are of less consequence. They are frequented only by the whale fishers of America, and adventurers from London.

With

The original intention of the United Provinces, in forming a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, was that of its being a place of refreshment for the shipping of their East India Company, beyond which they thought it not prudent to extend.

CHAP. V.

Importance of the Cape of Good Hope, considered in a commercial Point of View, and as a Depôt for the Southern Whale Fishery.

Intention of the United States in forming the Settlement.—Commerce discouraged.—Rising Prosperity of the Colony checked.—Consequences of its becoming a Free Port.—American Trade.—Ships under neutral Flags and British Capitals.—Situation of Batavian Republic respecting the Cape.—Interests of the East India Company.—Cape considered as an Emporium of Eastern Produce—Objections to it—attended with Loss to the Crown—and Injury to the London Market.—Remedy.—Trade from the Cape—to the West Indies—to the Brazils—at the Discretion of the Company.—America—Holland—France—Advantages of the Cape as furnishing Exports—Grain and Pulse—Wine and Brandy—Wool—Hides and Skins—Whale Oil and Bone—dried Fruits—salt Provisions—Soap and Candles—Aloes—Ivory—Tobacco.—Total Value of Exports in four Years.—Imports from England what—from India and China—by foreign Nations.—Table of Imports.—Balance of Imports over Exports.—State of the Colony.—Relapse into Poverty.—Commercial Advantages not Important to Great Britain—considered as a Depôt for the Southern Whale Fishery.—Establishment of this Fishery—might be exclusively in our Hands through the Cape—Black Whale—Spermaceti.—Bounties.—Seal Fishery in the Hands of Americans—Inducement for them to dispose of their Skins.—Conclusion.

THE original intention of the United Provinces, in forming a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, was that of its being a place of refreshment for the shipping of their East India Company, beyond which they thought it not prudent to

extend its use till very lately, after they had perceived the advantages it possessed as a military depôt for forming and preparing their troops, which were intended to serve in their Indian settlements. It was, at the same time, permitted to foreign ships to refit and refresh at the Cape, on payment of certain port fees that were by no means extravagant. But as the supplying of such ships with provisions was a lucrative monopoly, acquired by favour or purchased for a sum of money, the prices paid by foreigners were never less than double, and oftentimes treble, of those paid by the inhabitants. Hence little encouragement was held out for foreign ships to call at the Cape, beside that of getting water and a few refreshments for their crews.

All commerce, except such as was brought in Dutch bottoms, was deemed clandestine and contraband; yet, such illicit trade was not only winked at, but encouraged, by the servants of the Company, whose salaries, indeed, were so small, that they could not subsist their families upon them. The supplies, also, for the Cape, of which the Company reserved to itself the exclusive privilege of furnishing, both from Europe and India, were sometimes so scantily and so tardily brought in, that the inhabitants were under the necessity of smuggling certain articles of daily consumption out of foreign ships for their immediate use.

As the East India Company considered the Cape in no other light than as a conveniency to their commerce and their settlements in the East Indies, to which point all their regulations respecting it tended, their system of policy seemed to require that

that every impediment should be thrown in the way of its becoming a flourishing settlement. The petty traffic they reserved for themselves, or allowed their servants to carry on, at this place, consisted in an exchange of colonial produce for the manufactures of Europe and India. And this traffic was not only a monopoly in the hands of the Company or some of its servants, but a fixed price or what is usually called a *maximum* was imposed both on imports and exports. Other regulations, that were adopted for the government of the colony, were little calculated to promote its prosperity; and, although many of these were altered and modified from time to time, on the representations and remonstrances of that part of the inhabitants, not engaged in the service of the Company, yet few of them were productive of public benefit. The influence of the Company's servants was always sufficient to counteract the operation of any measure that promised to be more advantageous to the general interests of the colony, than to the individual benefit of those entrusted with the government.

There cannot be a stronger proof of this being the case than the general prosperity that prevailed under the British Government; when, in the course of six years, with the administration of the same political system reserved to them by the capitulation, except in so far as regarded the abolishment of monopolies, which were nearly done away, the public revenues were more than doubled, without an additional tax or increase of rents; and property in the town was also raised to nearly the double of its former value.

The Dutch East India Company, in fact, were jealous of establishing a power at the Cape which, by too great encouragement, might, in time, shake off their yoke in Europe, and overawe their settlements in India. For, although the whole population of the colony, exclusive of slaves and Hottentots, barely amounted to 20,000 souls, men, women, and children, which were scattered over an extent of country whose dimensions are not less than 550 by 230 English miles, yet, as it was not convenient for the Government to keep up a great force at the Cape, these colonists, few as they were, felt themselves sufficiently strong to give it, at least, a good deal of trouble. Nor, indeed, could it always place a firm dependence on the forces that were stationed there, these being chiefly hired troops, of which both officers and men entered frequently into family connections with the inhabitants. Thus circumstanced, it would have been no difficult matter for the colonists to cut off, at any time, those refreshments, without which the ships of their East India Company would be unable to proceed on their voyage to India.

The Dutch settlers seemed to be fully aware of their advantage in this respect in making their late weak attempt at independence, which, though then unsuccessful, they may again feel themselves inclined to renew, if, at a peace, their old masters should be allowed to retain the colony. The present weakness and exhausted finances of the Batavian Republic, will not be able to support even the same degree of authority over its subjects here as before; and the Asiatic Council, on finding themselves no longer capable of holding the government of the Cape, as a

conveniency to their trade, might, probably, be the less scrupulous in rendering it a mischievous agent against us. Indeed, exclusive of any vindictive motives, they might, perhaps, be tempted by the brilliant idea of establishing a free mart of import and export at the extremity of Africa; which, like another Tyre or Alexandria, should concentrate in itself the resources and supplies of every other region of the globe.

The idea of declaring the Cape of Good Hope a free port was suggested, and, in all probability, might have been carried, at the late negotiations at Amiens, had not the interference of the British cabinet wisely counteracted a measure which, though profitable to speculators and the inferior nations of Europe trading to the East, must infallibly have proved ruinous to the concerns of the English United Company of merchants trading to the East Indies. The sales of Leadenhall-street would suffer beyond calculation, were such a measure to be adopted by the Dutch; and of all nations the English would be the last to benefit by it; whilst the Danes, Swedes, Spaniards, and Portuguese would find their advantage in purchasing cargoes of India and China goods at the Cape of Good Hope, at a moderate advance and without duties, in preference of applying to the London market, where they are liable to duties or puzzled with drawbacks; or rather than prosecute the long and expensive voyage through the Eastern Seas.

In like manner it is to be apprehended that, at a general peace, the French, having neither credit nor capital of their own, will not only, by means of the Cape, consolidate a force in the Isles of

France

France and Bourbon to be ready to act against us and to disturb the tranquillity of our Indian settlements, but that they will likewise oblige the Dutch to allow an emporium of Eastern produce at this extremity of Africa for the supply of foreign nations, and particularly of the Spaniards and Portuguese on the Brazil coast, to the prejudice of the interests of the British East India Company.

It was an opinion, at one time, pretty generally entertained, that by reason of the long and expensive voyage to India, and of the moderate profits with which the Company was satisfied, the throwing open of the India trade would be less injurious to the interests of the Company than ruinous to the concerns of the private merchant who might be induced to engage in it. Yet we see great numbers of ships every year proceeding, even as far as China, under foreign flags, but with British capitals; and it is certain that the Americans, with very small ships and proportionate capitals, find their account in the India and China trade, exclusive of that part which employs them in carrying home the private property of individuals, who have enriched themselves in India. The Americans, with the returns of their lumber cargo, which they can always dispose of at the Cape, and the produce of their South Sea Fishery in oil and seal-skins, will always be able to purchase a cargo of China goods, part of which they may find convenient to dispose of at the Cape on the return-voyage, in exchange for wine and brandy. With the rest they not only supply the West Indian and American possessions of foreign powers, as well as the markets of their own extensive country, but it is well known they have, of late years,
very

very materially checked the re-exportation of India and China goods from England to our own islands in the Atlantic.

It is obvious, then, that the Americans, by trading direct to India and China, can afford to undersell the English West India merchants in our own islands, notwithstanding the drawbacks allowed on export from Leadenhall-street; and, consequently, that they may find their advantage in being allowed to dispose of the whole or part of their cargoes at the Cape of Good Hope; to the prejudice of the British East India Company and the encouragement of English smugglers, of which, indeed, the directors were not without their apprehensions, even whilst the Cape remained in our hands as a dependency of the crown.

And if the Americans can contrive to make this a beneficial commerce, under all the disadvantages of working up a capital to trade with in the course of a long protracted voyage, how much more so will ships, under neutral flags and English capitals, carry on a lucrative trade to and from the southern emporium of Africa; more injurious, in proportion as they are more active, than the ships actually employed by foreign merchants?

Here, then, is another cogent reason that, one might suppose, would have had some influence on the minds of the directors, and have operated so far, at least, as to have compelled them to state to Government the danger to their concerns of relinquishing the Cape; whereas the indifference they thought fit to assume,

sume, though too affected to be real, unfortunately had the ill effect of disparaging and undervaluing it in the eyes of the nation. If they should be inclined to plead a want of information with regard to the treaty of peace, let them recollect that, under the administration of Lord Bute, after the preliminaries of peace had been signed by the Duke of Bedford, the latter was instructed, at the instance of the Court of Directors, to alter an article that related to the Carnatic, or to break off the negociation; and the article was altered accordingly. Thus might it also have been with regard to the Cape of Good Hope, had the directors consulted the real interests of the East India Company. But, as there is reason to believe that, though late, they have seen their error, and that they are now convinced the Cape must either become a British territory, or their interests will very materially suffer; it is to be hoped they will shew themselves as solicitous to remove the evil as they were before indifferent in preventing it; for should the present opportunity be allowed to slip, *Tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum.*

What the Dutch meant to have done with it, had not the present war broken out, is uncertain. I was told, from good authority, that their intention was to give it a fair trial of ten or twelve years, unclogged and unfettered; to endeavour to raise it, by every encouragement, to its greatest possible value as a territorial possession; to admit the commerce of all nations on equal terms with their own, and to allow an influx of settlers from Europe; if, at the end of that time, the revenues were not so far improved as not only to meet the ordinary and contingent

tingent expences of the establishment and the garrison, but to produce a surplus for the use of the State, that they should then consider how to dispose of it to the best advantage.

All ships were, accordingly, admitted to an entry of European, American, or Indian produce and manufactures, on payment of a duty of 10 per cent. on the invoice prices; and all Indian goods, teas and spices excepted, were suffered to be again exported on a drawback of the same amount as the duty. How far such a regulation may interfere, in time of peace, with the interests of our East India Company, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the subject to determine; but it would seem to open a wide door for smuggling Indian commodities into Europe, under English capitals, to an amount that must be alarming to the Directors themselves.

The operation of this measure will be checked, to a certain degree, by the present war, which, it is to be hoped, may ultimately be the means of once more annexing the southern extremity of Africa to the dominions of Great Britain. In such an event, the determination of securing it, at a peace, will be a more important object than the consideration how its government is to be administered; whether as a dependency of the crown, or as a territorial possession of the East India Company. The interests, indeed, of the two, are so intimately connected, that any question of privilege, in a matter of such national importance, is a mere secondary consideration, and ought, therefore, to bend to circumstances. The interests of the Company, during our late tenure, were, as I have shewn, secured and

promoted in every respect. They had their agent established at the Cape, and not the smallest article of Eastern produce, not even the most trifling present, was allowed on any consideration to be landed, without a positive declaration, in writing, from their said agent, that the landing of such article did not interfere with, nor was in any shape injurious to, the concerns of his employers. It was, indeed, one of the first objects of the crown, after taking possession, to consult the interests of the East India Company in every point of view; not only in providing for their conveniency and security, by its happy position and local ascendancy, but by opening a new market and intermediate depositary for their trade and commodities. It was even proposed to place the custom-house under their sole direction, in order to preclude any grounds of complaint. In a word, in every point of view, except that of appointing the civil establishment, the Cape might have actually been considered as a settlement of the East India Company.

Leaving, however, the question of privilege to be discussed by those who are better informed, and more interested in its decision than myself, I proceed to enquire,

To what extent the Cape of Good Hope might have been rendered advantageous to the interests of the British empire, as an emporium of Eastern produce?—as furnishing articles of export for consumption in Europe and the West Indies?—as taking, in exchange for colonial produce, articles of British growth and manufacture?

And,

And, lastly, to consider the important advantages that might be derived from it, as a central depôt for the Southern Whale Fishery.

It is a point of too intricate and nice a nature for me to decide, how far it might be adviseable for Great Britain to establish at the Cape an entrepôt for Indian produce, in the hands, and under the direction, of the East India Company, and shall, therefore, content myself with barely suggesting some of the probable consequences that might result from such a measure.

The grand objection against making the Cape an emporium between Europe and the East Indies, and between the West Indies, America, and Asia, is the prejudice it would necessarily occasion to the sales of Leadenhall-street, and the consequent diminution of his Majesty's customs; for, though the East India Company might be made responsible to the crown for the duties on the amount of its sales at the Cape, yet the intention of the emporium would entirely be defeated, if the duties demanded there so far enhanced the value of the Indian commodities, as to make it equally eligible for foreign shipping to proceed to India, or to resort to the London market. And if these duties were reduced, it would obviously be attended with a loss to the revenues of the crown; unless, indeed, the augmentation of the sales, in consequence of the measure, should be found to be adequate to the reduction of the duties.

It is liable also to another objection, grounded on the detriment that would ensue to the London market in general. It is certain that foreign merchants, purchasing goods at Leadenhall-street, find their advantage by laying in, at the same time and sending in the same ship, an assorted cargo, the produce of our colonies and the manufactures of Britain. Now if these merchants could contrive to purchase Indian articles at a cheaper market than that of London, they might also be induced to make up their cargo with other articles at the same place, to the prejudice of the London trader.

These objections may, perhaps, lose much of their weight by the following considerations. The East India Company's trade, according to the Directors' own account, is fully competent to the whole supply of the East India and China markets, in commodities of European growth and manufacture: and they are satisfied in supplying the demands of those markets merely without a loss, in order to monopolize the trade and cut out foreign nations, who are thus obliged to purchase cargoes chiefly in exchange for specie. Even the privilege of 3000 tons allowed to the private merchant, by the terms of the Company's late charter, is said never to be filled up; to such a low rate have they reduced the prices of European articles in India and China, that the private trader finds no advantage in sending goods on his own account, on a moderate freight, to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. The Americans are the only nation who, by their fisheries, are enabled to work themselves into a cargo to exchange for India and China goods; with which they

supply

supply their own colonies and the West India islands, to the prejudice of the sales of the British East India Company.

It will result, from these considerations, that the East India Company, upon the same plan, could supply their emporium at the Cape with the produce and manufactures of Great Britain to any amount, and at so cheap a rate as to undersell any other nation. That the Americans, finding no longer a market at the Cape for their lumber cargoes, would confine their export trade to articles of peltry and ginseng, which they might be induced to bring to the emporium in exchange for teas, nankeen cloth, and muslins, at a moderate advance price, such as would not make it worth their while to proceed to India and China. That other foreign nations, trading to this emporium, might be accommodated there with British goods and manufactures, nearly on the same terms as in London, to make up an assorted cargo. That a very extensive trade might be opened with the coast of Brazil and the ports of South America, both in Indian commodities and articles of the growth and manufacture of Great Britain; those ports, on that continent, belonging to Portugal being now supplied through Lisbon at an enormous high rate; and those of Spain, frequently without any supply at all, but what they receive from English whalers and others in a clandestine manner.

The amount of European and Indian goods (the latter chiefly prize articles) exported from the Cape in the last four years, generally in Portuguese ships by English adventurers, or in English whalers, for the coast of Brazil, the West India islands, and Mozambique,

zambique, was about 850,000 rix dollars, or 170,000 pounds currency. On the articles of European growth and manufacture, whose value might amount to about half of the above sum, there must have been a very considerable profit to the private merchant at the Cape, beyond what would be required by the East India Company, and consequently they must have been sold at a high rate. Yet, under these disadvantages, the trade to the coast of Brazil might have been extended to many times the amount.

As in the case of the Cape becoming a commercial depôt in the hands of the East India Company, the consumption, in Spanish and Portuguese America, of Eastern produce, would increase to a very great extent, for all which they would pay in specie; and as the Company feel the greatest want of specie for their China trade, and still more for the necessary uses of their Indian empire, the supply of hard money they would thus obtain, would considerably lessen, if not entirely put an end to, the difficulties under which they now labour on that account. And the additional quantities of Indian produce and manufactures that would be required for this new channel of trade might prove, in some degree, an indemnity to the natives of India for what the Company draw from them in the shape of revenue to be sent to Europe.

The quantity of European and Indian produce consumed in South America is by no means trifling. I observed in Rio de Janeiro a whole street, consisting of shops, and every shop filled with Indian muslins and Manchester goods, which, having

come through Lisbon, were offered, of course, at enormous high prices. The trade, it is true, that subsists between England and Portugal, might render it prudent not materially to interfere with the Portuguese settlements; but the case is very different with regard to those of Spain. The Mother Country, more intent upon drawing specie from the mine than in promoting the happiness of its subjects in this part of the world, by encouraging trade and honest industry, suffers them to remain frequently without any supply of European produce and manufacture. It is no uncommon thing, I understand, to see the inhabitants of Spanish America with silver buckles, clasps and buttons, silver stirrups and bits to their bridles, whilst the whole of their clothing are not worth a single shilling. The whalers, who intend to make the coasts of Lima and Peru, are well acquainted with this circumstance, and generally carry out with them a quantity of ready made second-hand clothing, which they dispose of at a high rate in exchange for Spanish dollars. All this branch of trade might, with great advantage to both parties, be carried on from the Cape of Good Hope.

The emporium, therefore, being supplied by the East India Company with European goods, as well as with India and China commodities, the first to be sold at a very small advance on the London market price, and the latter exempt, or nearly so, from all duties, might be the means of putting a stop to the clandestine traders upon British capitals, but navigating under neutral colours, which has long been a subject of unavailing complaint. The Directors of the East India Company would, no doubt, be able to decide as to the rate at which it would be worth

worth the while of these adventurers to make their purchases at the Cape, rather than continue their voyage to India or China.

Such an entrepôt might likewise be the means of opening a lucrative branch of trade with the West Indies; a trade that would not only put a stop to that which, of late years, the Americans have so successfully carried on, but might open a new source for colonial produce, especially for its wines, which, with a little more attention and management in the manufacture, might be made to supersede those of Madeira, that are now consumed there to a very considerable amount, notwithstanding their enormous prices, which limit their consumption to the higher ranks of the islanders. Good Cape Madeira might be delivered, at any of the West India islands, at less than one-fourth of the expence of real Madeira.

A new branch of trade might also be opened between the Cape and New South Wales, the latter supplying the former with coals, of which they have lately discovered abundant mines, in exchange for wine, cattle, butter, and articles of clothing.

If, however, the East India Company, after making the experiment, should find it injurious to its interests to continue the Cape as an emporium for Indian produce; it will always be in its power to reduce it to the same state in which it remained whilst in the hands of the Dutch; to clog it as much as possible with duties and difficulties, sufficient to deter all ships, except their

their own, from trading to it; and, in short, to allow them no other commerce than the purchase of provisions in exchange for bills or hard money. It will always be at their discretion to admit or to send away all foreign adventurers. By the existing laws of the colony, no person can reside there, but by special licence; and the Governor is authorized to send away whomsoever he may be inclined to consider as an improper person to remain in the settlement.

If the experiment should succeed, the obvious result would be an exclusive trade to India and China vested in the English East India Company. The commerce carried on by the Americans, their only dangerous rivals at present, would be diverted into another channel, or, at all events, would suffer a considerable reduction. Should the Dutch ever rise again as an independent nation, they would find it expedient to court the friendship and alliance of Great Britain in the East; and, in the present low state of their finances, would be well satisfied with the exclusive privilege of the spice-trade, and with any portion of the carrying-trade that Great Britain might think proper to assign to them. Any encroachment on the part of this nation might easily be checked by a refusal of the usual accommodations at the Cape, without which their trade and navigation to the Eastern Seas must totally be superseded. If, at a peace, they are to become a dependency of France, directly or indirectly, the Cape in our hands will always enable us to cramp their commerce to the eastward. As to France, having neither credit nor capital, without shipping and without manufactures,

its trade to the East will, in the nature of things, be inconsiderable for a long time. Her first object will be to send out troops and stores to endeavour to destroy, at some future period, our trade and possessions in India, which she has long regarded with envy and jealousy—and we have already shewn how far the Cape may be instrumental in checking or in forwarding, according to the power who holds it, her projects in this part of the world.

I now proceed to inquire to what extent the Cape of Good Hope may be considered as advantageous to the interests of the British nation, by furnishing articles of export for general consumption in Europe and the West Indies. Its importance, in this point of view, will readily be decided from the statement of a few simple facts collected from the custom-house books, together with the supplies that were consumed by the army, the navy, and the inhabitants during our possession. It may be observed, however, that no true estimate can be formed from such statement of what the colony is capable of producing, cramped as it always has been by restrictive regulations, which the indolent dispositions of the settlers tended but too much to cherish; and, therefore, that the following account of colonial produce actually consumed and exported, is not to be taken as the standard measure of its worth, as a territorial possession, nor considered as any comparative quantity of what it might supply, when governed by a system of salutary laws, and inhabited by an industrious and intelligent race of men.

The

The chief articles of colonial growth and produce, consumed upon the spot and exported to the East Indies, Europe, and America, may be comprized under the following heads:

<i>Grain and Pulse</i>	<i>Salt Provisions</i>
<i>Wine and Brandy</i>	<i>Soap and Candles</i>
<i>Wool</i>	<i>Aloes</i>
<i>Hides and Skins</i>	<i>Ivory</i>
<i>Whale Oil and Bone</i>	<i>Tobacco</i>
<i>Dried Fruits</i>	

I shall take a short view of each of these articles separately.

GRAIN and PULSE.

The wheat produced at the Cape is said to be as good and heavy as that of most other parts of the world. A load of this grain consists of ten *muids* or sacks, equal to 31 Winchester bushels: and a *muid*, or $3\frac{1}{6}$ Winchester bushels, usually weighs 180 Dutch pounds, which is equal to 191½ pounds English. The returns are from 10 to 70, according to the nature of the soil, and the supply of water. Mr. Duckitt, the English farmer, informed me that he obtained seventy for one from a new sort of wheat, of a small hard grain, at the farm of Klapmutz, near the Cape, where the returns of the ordinary kind, sown under similar circumstances, were only eighteen and twenty. A small quantity of wheat only is raised on such farms as are within the distance of one day's journey from the Cape, the best part of the ground in those contiguous to the peninsula

being chiefly employed in extensive vineyards; and still less grain is cultivated beyond the distance of a three days' journey from the town, where the inhabitants are all graziers. The quantity of grain that might be raised may be considered as indefinite; but the great distance from any market, the badness of the roads, and the weak state of the cattle, will always operate against an extended cultivation. In addition to these obstacles, the farmer had no encouragement given to him to raise more than a limited quantity, as the prices were always fixed by the Government, and bore a proportion to the state of the harvest. If, therefore, the harvest happened to fail, it was an advantageous circumstance to the farmer; as he received the same money for a smaller quantity, and had less trouble and less expence in bringing it up to town.

The surplus, purchased by Government, in fruitful years, was laid up in magazines against a season of scarcity. At the time of the capture there was found in store near 40,000 muids, part of which was sent to England; but the following year not affording a productive crop, the scarcity was so great, that Government found it necessary to prohibit the use of white bread; nor, since that period, has it been able to lay up in store a single bushel of wheat; nor to allow any exportation, beyond what was necessary for the consumption of the crews of the several ships during their voyage; and this was generally sent on board in biscuit and flour.

The Dutch seldom paid more than from 20 to 40 rix dollars the load; the English never less than from 40 to 60 rix dollars,

five of which make a pound currency, which, being paper money, was generally 20 per cent. under a pound sterling. The bakers of the Cape were required to take out a licence annually, and their number was limited; so that, by the regulations of the police, which, in this respect, were excellent, the inhabitants had always bread at a reasonable price.

Barley is a productive grain at the Cape of Good Hope. If the rains happen to fall early, in the month of April for instance, there is no soil, however impoverished by a continual succession of crops, none, however shallow and poor, that will not yield a tolerable crop of barley; or, to speak more correctly, of *beer* or *big*; for the only trial of flat-eared barley I ever saw in the colony, was at the Governor's seat of *Ronde-bosch*, and it did not seem to promise much success. The former is just as good as the latter at this place; for the Cape boor, having always plenty of animal food, would disdain to eat bread mixed with barley-meal. The only use that is made of it is to feed their horses. For this purpose a great part of that which is grown in the vicinity of the Cape is cut down when green, just as the ear begins to shoot; the dry barley and the chaff is brought from the opposite side of the isthmus. The number of horses kept by the English, and the superior manner in which they were fed, encouraged the cultivation of barley to the prejudice of that of wheat. At the capture of the colony, the market price of barley was $1\frac{1}{2}$ rix dollar the muid, but General Sir James Craig, seeing the necessity of keeping up a certain number of cavalry as part of the garrison, and knowing that this grain would necessarily rise in consequence of it, made a voluntary offer of $2\frac{1}{2}$

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rix dollars the muid in order to secure a certain portion from each farmer for the use of the garrison, which they instantly accepted. The following year barley rose to five dollars the muid, and, at one time, was not to be had for less than ten. A brewer of the name of Van Reenen, employs a small quantity, but the beer he makes is so execrable, that none drink it but such as cannot afford to purchase European beer.

Rye is a thriving grain at the Cape, but is little used except for cattle, and then only while it is green; and oats run so much into straw, that they are fit only for horses as green fodder.

Peas, beans, and kidney beans are abundantly productive, and might be supplied to any amount; but they are in little demand except by ships that touch at the Cape. Indian corn or maize grows here fully as well as in any part of the world, and might be cultivated to any extent; the plant for cattle, and the prolific heads for hogs and poultry. The same may be observed with regard to the various kinds of millet, three of which I cultivated here with the greatest success, but neither one nor the other are much known beyond the Cape peninsula.

The different kinds of grain and pulse that are brought up to Cape Town, except oats, are subject to a certain toll at the barrier, which, at the prices they bore under the Dutch Government, amounted to about the tythe or one-tenth of their value. The following table shews the quantity of each that passed the barrier, and which, of course, includes the consumption

tion of the Town, the garrison, and the navy, as well as the exportation, in four successive years.

Years.	Muids of Wheat.	Muids of Barley.	Muids of Rye.	Muids of Peas.	Muids of Beans.
1799	34,951	17,130	184	435	344 $\frac{1}{2}$
1800	35,685	25,641 $\frac{1}{2}$	444	366	326 $\frac{1}{2}$
1801	32,322 $\frac{3}{4}$	21,054	835 $\frac{1}{2}$	808 $\frac{1}{2}$	471
1802	28,402 $\frac{1}{2}$	21,084	441 $\frac{1}{2}$	168	216
Total of 4 years	131,361 $\frac{1}{4}$	84,909 $\frac{1}{2}$	1905	1777 $\frac{1}{2}$	1358

Of the above quantity of wheat were annually required,

For the use of the inhabitants	-	18,000
Army	-	8,000
Navy	-	4,000
Total	Muids	30,000

So that in none of the above years could a greater quantity be spared, for ships calling for refreshments, than four or five thousand muids; and in the last year the inhabitants and the garrison were reduced to an allowance. It may, therefore, be fairly concluded that the Cape, in its present state, is not capable of exporting any grain.

WINE

WINE and BRANDY.

These two articles, with those above mentioned, may be considered as the staple commodities of the Cape of Good Hope. Grapes grow with the greatest luxuriance in every part of this extensive colony; but the cultivation of the vine is little understood, or, to speak more properly, is not attended to with that diligence which in other countries is bestowed upon it. Hence the wines are susceptible of great improvement, and the quantity of being increased indefinitely.

Ten or twelve distinct kinds of wine are manufactured at the Cape, and each of those have a different flavour and quality at the different farms on which they are produced. From difference of soil, from situation, and management, scarcely any two vineyards, of the same kind of grape, give the same wine. By throwing under the press the ripe and unripe grapes, together with the stalk, most of the wines have either a thinness and a slight acidity, or, for want of a proper degree of fermentation, and from being pressed when over ripe, acquire a sickly saccharine taste. An instance of the former is perceptible in that called *Steen*, which resembles the Rhenish wines; and of the latter, in that which is known by the name of *Constantia*. It is generally supposed that this wine is the produce of two farms only, of that name; whereas, the same grape, the muscadel, grows at every farm; and at some of them in Drakenstein the wine pressed from it is equally good, if not superior, to the

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Constantia, though sold at one-sixth part of the price; of such importance is a name.

This wine sells at the Cape for 70 or 80 rix dollars the *half-aum*, a cask which ought to contain 20 gallons; but the avaricious propensity of the proprietors, increasing with the demands for their wine, has led them to fabricate false casks, few of them that come to England being found to measure more than seventeen or eighteen gallons; many not above sixteen. And if they find out that the wine applied for is to be sent abroad, they are sure to adulterate it with some other thin wine. For, according to their own returns, the quantity exported and consumed in Cape Town, as in the case of Madeira wine, greatly exceeds the quantity manufactured.

By a settlement made between the Dutch Commissaries General, in the year 1793, and the owners of the two farms of Great and Little Constantia, the latter were bound to furnish, for the use of Government, 30 aums each, every year, at the rate of 50 rix dollars the aum; which was regularly taken, after being tasted and sealed up in presence of persons appointed for that purpose, by the English Government, to the no little annoyance of the Great Lord of Constantia, who is the son and successor to the man of whom Mr. Le Vaillant has drawn a very entertaining portrait. The wine was paid for out of the Colonial Treasury, and the whole of it, under Lord Macartney's government, sent home to the Secretary of State, for the disposal of his Majesty.

The quantity of Constantia wine exported in four successive years was,

	Years.	Half Aums.	Value.
In	1799	157	11,752
	1800	188	14,070
	1801	173	13,007
	1802	210	15,745
In four years		728	54,504 R. D.

The best bodied wine, that is made at the Cape, is the Madeira, considerable quantities of which were usually sent to Holland and to the Dutch settlements in India. The Americans, also, have taken small quantities, of late years, in exchange for slaves, a trade that seems susceptible of very considerable augmentation. The English merchants at the Cape have made up cargoes of the different sorts of wines, both to the East and the West Indies, and they have been tried in the northern nations of Europe. But they universally complain that the wines seldom agree with the samples, and that they frequently turn sour; so little regard for reputation have the *Koopmen* of the Cape. Confined to this spot from their birth, they have had little opportunity of improvement from education and none from travel, and are consequently ignorant of the nature of foreign trade. If their wines are once on board ship, they conclude there is an end of the transaction, and, if previously sold, whether they arrive in good or bad condition, is no concern of theirs.

The country boor, having no surplus stock of casks, is under the necessity of selling to the merchant in the town his new wine; and here it is mixed and adulterated in a variety of ways. The pipe is called a *legger*, and contains 8 *half-aums* or 160 gallons, and each legger pays to Government a duty, on entering the town, of three rix dollars. The price paid to the farmer is generally from 20 to 30 rix dollars the *legger*, which, after adulteration, is sold again from 40 to 60 rix dollars, and frequently at the rate of 80 to 100 rix dollars.

The article of brandy might become a very important commodity in the export trade of this settlement, provided the cultivators of the vine were instructed in, and would take the trouble of, carrying the manufacture of it to that state of improvement of which it is susceptible. At present they have no proper distillatory apparatus, nor knowledge to conduct those which they have. The filth that is usually thrown into the still with the refuse of the wines, is disgusting; and the imperfect process is not sufficient to destroy the extraneous and disagreeable taste communicated by the loathsome materials. This spirit has been tried in the East Indies, but it seems they give the preference to arrack. If distilled with proper care, and under proper management, it might become a valuable article for the navy; and would, no doubt, find a market in both North and South America. Brandy is exported at 80 to 160 rix dollars the *legger*, and is subject to the same toll, on entering the town, as wines. And both wine and brandy are liable to a further duty of 5 rix dollars the legger on exportation. The following table shews the quantity of wines and brandy that passed the

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barrier, and which, of course, includes the consumption of the town, of the army, and navy, as well as the exportation in four successive years.

Years.	Leggers of Wine.	Leggers of Brandy.
1799	6953 $\frac{1}{4}$	598 $\frac{1}{2}$
1800	5199 $\frac{7}{8}$	472 $\frac{3}{4}$
1801	5463 $\frac{7}{8}$	320 $\frac{1}{8}$
1802	4031 $\frac{7}{8}$	273 $\frac{7}{8}$
In four years	21,649 $\frac{1}{4}$	1665 $\frac{1}{4}$

Of the above quantity have been exported from 400 to 800 leggers of wine, and from 30 to 100 of brandy, annually, beside the Constantia; the rest has been consumed in the town. So that the whole export value of wines, including the Constantia, and the brandy, may amount, one year with another, to about 50,000 rix dollars, or 10,000 £ currency.

The gradual reduction of the quantity brought up to town, as appears in the table, is no proof of the diminution of the quantity manufactured, but shews rather that the wine farmer, by being in a condition to increase his stock of casks, is enabled to keep his wine at home, and not obliged, as he usually was, to deliver it to the wine merchants in the Cape at their own price. This circumstance has contributed not a little to the melioration of the colonial wines.

WOOL.

WOOL.

This article is likely to become a source of colonial revenue, which, till of late years, was never thought of; and certainly never turned to any account, before the Deputy Paymaster's bills on his Majesty's Paymasters-General became so scarce, and bore such high premiums, that the private merchant was glad to make his remittances in any kind of merchandize rather than paper. The wool of the common broad-tailed sheep of the Cape is little better than hair, and is considered of no value whatsoever; but there is a mixed breed in the colony, of Spanish and English, introduced by the late colonel Gordon, the wool of which is extremely beautiful, and seems to improve by every cross. A family of the name of Van Reenen has paid some attention to this subject, and by procuring European sheep, from time to time, out of ships that called for refreshments, has succeeded in improving their stock beyond their expectations.

No trouble whatsoever is bestowed upon the sheep; they neither wash nor salve them, nor, till they were instructed by the English agriculturist, did they know how to shear them. Yet, the wool taken off in this rough condition has sold, as I have been informed, in the London market at 3s. to 3s. 6d. the pound. By a proper degree of attention being paid to the sheep, and by obviating any degeneracy in the breed from a cross with the common Cape sheep, this article bids fair to become, in the course of a few years, one of the most valuable and productive exports that the settlement is capable of furnishing.

nishing. The mutton of the Cape sheep is also of a very inferior quality, being coarse and void of flavour; and they have little intestine or net fat, nor, indeed, any other except what is accumulated on the tail, which is of too oleaginous a nature to be employed alone as tallow. In every respect, therefore, the mixed Spanish breed is preferable to that which, at present, constitutes the numerous flocks of the greater part of the farmers.

HIDES and SKINS.

The exportation of these articles, both dried and salted raw, has been increased to a very considerable degree under the British Government, and the price has consequently augmented in proportion to the demand for them. Ox hides, which formerly might be purchased at half a dollar a piece, rose to two dollars. They are subject, on exportation, to a duty of threepence-halfpenny a piece. The quantity exported may amount to between 2000 and 3000 annually. Those that are taken off the cattle, killed in the country, are employed by the farmers in various uses, but principally as harness for their waggons, and as thongs to supply the place of cordage. The skins of sheep, that are killed in the country, are converted into small sacks and other articles of household use, and employed as clothing for the slaves and Hottentots, and are still worn by the farmers themselves, after a rude kind of dressing, as pantaloons. In the Cape they are somewhat better prepared, and are used for clothing of slaves, for gloves and other purposes. Few of them are exported. Skins of the wild antelopes and of the leopard are brought occasionally to the Cape market, but the quantity

tity is so small as scarcely to deserve mentioning as articles of export.

The same may be observed with regard to ostrich feathers, the value of which, exported annually, amounts to a mere trifle. The boors, very imprudently, rob every nest of this bird that falls in their way; preferring the immediate benefit of the eggs to the encouragement of a future source of profit. The boors, indeed, derive little advantage from ostrich feathers, being presents generally expected by the butchers' servants, who go round the country to purchase cattle and sheep for the Cape market. The whole value of one year's exportation of this article does not exceed 1000 rix dollars; of hides and skins of every denomination not more than 5000 or 6000 rix dollars.

WHALE OIL and BONE.

The vast number of black whales that constantly frequented Table Bay induced a company of merchants at the Cape to establish a whale fishery, to be confined solely to Table Bay, in order to avoid the great expence of purchasing any other kind of craft than a few common whale boats. With these alone they caught as many whales as they could wish for; filling, in a short space of time, all their casks and cisterns with oil. Having gone thus far they perceived that, although whale-oil was to be procured to almost any amount at a small expence, they were still likely to be considerable losers by the concern. The consumption of the colony in this article was trifling; they had no ships of their own to send it to Europe, nor casks to

put on board others on freight. Their oil, therefore, continued to lie as a dead stock in their cisterns, till the high premium of bills on England induced some of the British merchants to purchase and make their remittances in this article. The price at the Cape was about 40 rix dollars the *legger*, or tenpence sterling per gallon. Sometimes, indeed, ships from the Southern Whale Fishery took a few casks to complete their cargoes, but, in general, they preferred to be at the trouble of taking the fish themselves, in or near some of the bays within the limits of the colony, where they are so plentiful and so easily caught, as to ensure their success. It is remarked that all the whales which have been caught in the bays are females; of a small size, generally from 30 to 50 feet in length, and yielding from six to ten tons of oil each. The bone is very small, and, on that account, of no great value.

The Whale Fishing Company, finding there was little probability of their disposing of the oil without a loss, thought of the experiment of converting it into soap. The great quantity of sea-weed, the *fucus maximus*, or *buccinalis*, so called from its resemblance to a trumpet, which grows on the western shore of Table Bay, suggested itself as an abundant source for supplying them with kelp or barilla; and from the specification of a patent obtained in London, for freeing animal oils of their impurities, and the strong and offensive smell that train-oil in particular acquires, they endeavoured to reduce to practice this important discovery. The experiment, however, failed; for though they succeeded in making soap, whose quality, in the most essential points might, perhaps, be fully as good as was desired,

desired, yet the smell was so disgusting that nobody would purchase it. Unluckily for them there came in, also, just at that time, a cargo of prize soap, which was not only more agreeable to the smell, but was sold at a rate lower than the Company could afford to manufacture theirs of train-oil. Being thus thwarted in all their views, they sold the whole concern to an English merchant, who was supposed to be turning it to a tolerable good account, when it was signified to him, by the present Dutch Government, that the exclusive privilege of fishing on the coasts of Africa, within the limits of the colony, was granted to a company of merchants residing in Amsterdam; and, therefore, that he could not be allowed to continue the concern.

DRIED FRUITS.

Under this head the most important articles are almonds and raisins; of which a quantity might be raised sufficient for the consumption of all Europe. I have already observed that many thousand acres of land, now lying waste, might be planted with vineyards, within sight of Table Mountain. In like manner might the whole sea-coast, on both sides of Africa, be planted with vines. In no part of the world are better grapes produced than at the Cape of Good Hope; and it is unnecessary to observe that good grapes, under proper management, cannot fail to make good raisins; but with respect to this, as well as most other articles, little care and less labour are bestowed in the preparation. As in the making of wine the whole bunch is thrown under the press, so, in the process for converting grapes

into raisins, neither the rotten nor the unripe fruit is removed; the consequence of which is, that the bad raisins soon spoil those that otherwise would have been good.

The almonds are, in general, small, but of a good quality. The trees thrive well in the very driest and worst of soils; in no situation better than among the rocks on the sides of mountains, where nothing else would grow; and they will bear fruit the fifth year from the seed. The quantity, therefore, of these nuts might be produced to an indefinite amount. The consumption in the Cape of both these articles is very considerable, as furnishing part of the desert, without which, after supper as well as dinner, few householders would be contented; the omission might be considered as a criterion of poverty, a condition which the weakness of human nature leads men generally to dissemble rather than avow. Ships also take considerable quantities of almonds and raisins as sea-stock; but few have hitherto been sent to India or to Europe as articles of trade. Before the capture the prices might have admitted of it, almonds being then not more than from a shilling to eighteenpence sterling the thousand, and raisins from twopence to threepence a pound; but the increased demand, in consequence of the increased number of shipping, as well as of inhabitants, raised the price of the former from two shillings to two shillings and sixpence the thousand, and of the latter from fourpence to sixpence a pound.

Walnuts and Chesnuts are neither plentiful nor good; and the latter will barely keep a month without decaying, so that these

these are never likely to become articles of general consumption or of exportation.

But dried peaches, apricots, pears, and apples, are not only plentiful, but good of their kind. The peaches and pears are used in the desert, but apricots and apples are intended for tarts; the latter, indeed, are nearly as good as when fresh from the tree. All the others are squeezed together and dried whole, but the apples are sliced thin and dried in the sun, till they take the consistence and appearance of slips of leather, of that kind and colour usually called the York tan. These, when soaked in water, swell out and make very excellent tarts; and are sold chiefly as an article of sea stock. The whole value of dried fruit, shipped in the year 1802, amounted only to 2542 rix dollars, as appears by the Custom-house books, on which every pound is entered, being subject to a duty on exportation of 5 per cent.

SALT PROVISIONS.

This is an article, as I have already taken occasion to observe, that is susceptible of great improvement; not, however, to be prepared in Cape Town, after the cattle have been harassed and famished for two months in travelling over a barren desert, but cured at Algoa Bay, and brought down in small coasting vessels to the Cape. Salted mutton, and mutton hams, might, however, be, and are, indeed, to a certain degree, prepared at the Cape, but not to that extent of which they are capable.

It is remarkable that the Dutch, being so fond of fat, should not pay more attention to increase the breed of hogs. Except a few, that are shamefully suffered to wallow about the shores of Table Bay, where, indeed, they are so far useful as to pick up dead fish and butchers' offals, that are scattered along the strand, the hog is an animal that is scarcely known as food in the colony. Yet, from the vast quantities of fruit, the productive crops of barley, of peas, beans, and other vegetables, they might be reared at a small expence; whereas, from the manner in which they are at present fed in Cape Town, no one thinks of eating pork.

Salt, in the greatest abundance, is spontaneously produced within a few miles of Cape Town, by the evaporation of the water in the salt lakes that abound along the west coast of the colony. Two kinds of fish, the *Hottentot* and the *Snook*, are split open, salted, and dried in the sun in large quantities, principally for the use of the slaves who are employed in agriculture, to correct the bilious effects of bullocks' livers and other offals that constitute a great part of their food. They are eaten also by the inhabitants of the town, when boisterous weather prevents the fishing-boats from going out; for a Dutchman seldom makes a meal without fish. Small quantities are sometimes taken as sea-stock, but so inconsiderable as hardly to deserve mentioning.

Salt butter is a very material article both for the consumption of the town, the garrison, and the navy, as also for exportation. The quality greatly depends on the degree of cleanliness that has

been employed in the dairy, and more particularly on the pains that have been taken in working the butter well, to free it from the milky particles, which, if suffered to remain, very soon communicate a strong rancid taste that is highly offensive. That which comes from the Snowy Mountains is accounted the best; but, to say the truth, very little deserves the appellation of good. Under the Dutch Government it was usually sold from fourpence to sixpence a pound, but, of late years, it was seldom to be purchased under a shilling a pound.

SOAP and CANDLES.

The first of these articles is manufactured by almost every farmer in the country, and, in some of the districts, furnishes a considerable part of their surplus revenue, which is appropriated to the purchase of clothing and other necessaries at their annual visit to Cape Town. The unctuous part is chiefly derived from the fat of sheeps' tails, and the potash or barilla is the lixiviated ashes procured from a species of *Salsola* or salt wort that grows abundantly on those parts of the *Karoo*, or deserts, that are intersected by periodical streams of water. The plant is known in the colony by the Hottentot name of *Canna*. With this alkaline lye and the fat of sheep, boiled together over a slow fire for four or five days, they make a very excellent soap, which generally bears the same price as salt butter. Being mostly brought from the distant district of Graaf Reynet at the same time with the butter, they rose and fell together according to the quantity in the market, and the demand there might happen to be for them.

them. The great distance from the market limited the quantity that was manufactured, and not the scantiness of the materials.

This distance is a serious inconvenience to the farmer, and a great encouragement to his natural propensity to idleness. If he can contrive to get together a waggon load or two of butter or soap, to carry with him to Cape Town once a year, or once in two years, in exchange for clothing, brandy, coffee, a little tea and sugar, and a few other luxuries, which his own district has not yet produced, he is perfectly satisfied. The consideration of profit is out of the question. A man who goes to Cape Town with a single waggon from the Sneeuwberg must consume, at least, sixty days out and home. He must have a double team, or 24 oxen, and two people, at the least, besides himself to look after, to drive, and to lead the oxen and the sheep or goats, which it is necessary to take with them for their subsistence on the journey. His load, if a great one, may consist of fifteen hundred weight of butter and soap, for which he is glad to get from the retail dealers at the Cape, whom he calls *Semaus* or Jews, sixpence a pound, or just half what they sell the article for again. So that the value of his whole load is not above 37*l.* 10*s.* But as he has no other way of proceeding to the Cape, except with his waggon, it makes little difference in point of time whether it be laden or empty. And the more of these loose articles he can bring to market, the fewer cattle he has occasion to dispose of to the butcher. These constitute his wealth, and with these he portions off his children.

Candles

Candles being an unsafe article to transport by land carriage are seldom brought out of the country; but a vegetable wax, collected from the berries of a shrubby plant, the *myrica cerifera*, plentiful on the dry marshy grounds near the sea-shore, is sometimes sent up to the Cape in large green cakes, where it may be had from a shilling to fifteenpence a pound. The tallow to be purchased at the Cape is barely sufficient for the consumption of the town and the garrison, and the candles made from it are seldom lower than fifteenpence a pound.

ALOES.

This drug is extracted from the common species of aloe known by the specific name of *perfoliata*, and is that variety which, perhaps on account of the abundant quantity of juice it contains, botanists have distinguished by the name of *succotrina*, though vulgarly supposed to have taken the name from the island of Socotra, where this drug is said to be produced of the best quality, in which case, at all events, it ought to be *socotrina*.

Large tracts of ground, many miles in extent, are covered with spontaneous plantations of this kind of aloe, and especially in the district of Zwellendam, at no great distance from Mossel Bay. In this part of the country the farmers rear few cattle or sheep, their stock consisting chiefly of horses; and they formerly cultivated a certain quantity of corn, which they delivered at a small fixed price, for the use of the Dutch East India Company,
at

at Mossel Bay; but since this practice has been discontinued, they find it more advantageous to bring to Cape Town a load of aloes than a load of corn; the former being worth from 18*l.* to 20*l.*, the latter only from 8*l.* to 10*l.* The labour employed in collecting and inspissating the juice is ill repaid by the price it bears in Cape Town, which is seldom more than threepence a pound; but it is usually performed at a time of the year when the slaves have little else to do; and the whole strength of the family, slaves, Hottentots, and children, are employed in picking off, and carrying together, the leaves of the aloes. Three or four pounds, I understand, are as much as each person can collect and prepare in a day.

This drug, it seems, has of late years been much employed in the porter breweries of London, which occasioned an increased demand, and which may one day be extended almost to an indefinite amount, if the partial experiments of the ingenious Sigr. Fabroni on the juice of this plant can be realized on the great scale; experiments that promise a no less valuable acquisition to the arts than a colouring substance which may be used, with advantage, as a substitute for cochineal. The quantity of inspissated juice brought to the Cape market was eagerly bought up by the English merchants, and sent to London as a remittance. The amount of this article entered on the Custom-house books, in the course of four years, was as follows:

Years.

Years.	Lbs. Weight.	Value R. D.
1799	126,684	9361 1
1800	71,843	5217 0
1801	52,181	4258 3
1802	91,219	6829 0
Total of 4 years	lbs. 341,927	R. D. 25,665 4

It is subject to a small exportation duty of sixteen-pence for every hundred pounds.

IVORY.

However abundant this article might once have been in the southern part of Africa, it is now become very scarce, and, in the nature of things, as population is extended, must progressively disappear. Except in the forests of Sitsikamma and the thickets in the neighbourhood of the Sunday River, no elephants are now to be found within the limits of the colony. Of those few which the Kaffers destroy, the large tusks are always cut up into circular rings and worn on the arms as trophies of the chase. The small quantity of ivory that is brought to the Cape market is collected chiefly by two or three families of *bastard* Hottentots (as the colonists call them) who dwell to the northward, not far from the banks of the Orange River. The whole quantity exported, in the course of four years, as appears by the Custom-house books, amounted only to 5981 pounds, value 6340 rix dollars.

The Hippopotamus or sea-cow is now no longer within the limits of the colony; and, though the teeth of this animal are considered as the best ivory, yet the quantity of it procured was always comparatively small with that of the elephant. We may safely conclude then, that ivory is not to be reckoned among the valuable exports which the Cape can supply for the markets of Europe.

TOBACCO.

I mention this article not so much on account of the quantity exported, which, indeed, is very trifling, as of the great abundance the colony is capable of producing. It is impossible the plant can thrive better in any part of the world than in this climate, or require less attention; and I have understood from persons, qualified to give an opinion on the subject, that the Cape tobacco, with a little art in the preparation, is as good in every respect as that of Virginia. As all male persons, old and young, smoke in the Cape, from the highest to the lowest, and as American tobacco generally bears a high price, the consumption of that of native growth is considerable. The inferior sort is used by slaves and Hottentots.

I have now enumerated the most material articles of export which the Cape either does, or easily might, furnish for foreign markets. There still remain a few trifling things, as preserved fruits, garden seeds, salt, vinegar, &c., which, though valuable as refreshments for ships calling there, are of no consequence as exports. The total value of every kind of colonial produce collectively,

lectively, that has actually been exported from the ports of the Cape in four years, is as follows:

	Value.
In 1799	— R. D. 108,160 0
1800	— 85,049 2
1801	— 50,519 6
1802	— 57,196 0

In four years R. D. 300,925 0

or £. 60,185 0 Currency.

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from the view now taken of the amount of exports in colonial produce is, that the Cape of Good Hope, in its present condition, is of very little importance to any nation, considered as to the articles of commerce it supplies for exportation to foreign markets. The surplus produce, beyond the supply of its own inhabitants, a garrison, and navy of eight or ten thousand men, and the refreshments furnished to ships trading and casually calling there, is so trifling as to merit no consideration. But that, by a new system of things, it is susceptible of great improvement; and the supply of the most important articles of being extended to an almost indefinite amount.

The next point that comes under consideration is the advantages that may result to the British Empire by the increased consumption of goods, the growth and produce of Great Britain

and her colonies, from the acquisition of the Cape of Good Hope. The commodities imported from England into this settlement consisted in,

Woollen cloths, from the first sort down to woollen blankets.

Manchester goods of almost every description.

Hosiery, haberdashery, and millinery.

Boots, shoes, and hats.

Cutlery, iron tools, stationary.

Bar and hoop iron.

Smiths' coals.

Household furniture.

Paint and oils.

Earthenware.

Naval stores.

Tongues, hams, cheese, and pickles.

From India and China were imported,

Bengal, Madras, and Surat piece goods; the coarse ones for the slaves.

Tea, coffee, sugar, pepper, and spices.

Rice.

In addition to these the Americans were in the habit of bringing lumber-cargoes, of deal plank, staves, balk, salt fish, pitch, turpentine, &c. ; and the Danes, Swedes, and Hamburgh ships afforded cargoes of iron, plank, French wines, beer, gin, Seltzer water, coffee, preserves, pickles, &c. in exchange for refreshments,

ments, to defray the charges of repairs and other necessities, or for hard money to carry to India or China.

As it is not material to state the exact amount of each kind of goods imported, I shall subjoin an abstract account of the whole importation into the Cape by British or foreign bottoms, from Europe, Asia, and America, in the course of four years, including the value of the prize goods brought in, and of the slaves imported within the same period.

Years.	British goods on British bottoms, duty free.	India goods on British bottoms, 5 per cent. duty.	European prize goods, 5 per cent. duty.	Indian prize goods, 10 per cent. duty.	Prize slaves and others imported by British mer- chants.	Total pro- duce import- ed in British bottoms.	European and Ame- rican goods on foreign bottoms, 10 per cent. duty.	Indian goods on foreign bottoms, 10 per cent.	Total pro- duce im- ported in foreign bottoms.
	Rd. sh.	Rd. sh.	Rd. sh.	Rd. sh.	Rd.	Rd. sh.	Rd. sh.	Rd. sh.	Rd. sh.
1799	674,009 6	104,124 0	20,623 5	100,487 0	245,600	1,144,844 3	118,244 0	64,219 6	182,463 6
1800	474,706 0	212,446 0	17,797 0	45,335 0	184,000	934,284 0	51,238 0	109,490 0	160,748 0
1801	587,023 4	290,117 0	568,425 0	129,642 6	271,200	1,346,408 2	136,394 5	3,337 2	139,731 7
1802	532,366 4	455,397 4	93,788 2	130,720 6	198,205	1,410,478 0	142,634 6	15,892 7	158,527 5
In 4 years	2,268,105 6	1,062,084 4	700,633 7	406,185 4	899,005	5,336,014 5	448,581 3	192,939 7	641,521 2
Total importation, Rix dollars					5,977,535 7	Sk.			
					or £. 1,195,507 3 6 Currency.				

It will naturally be demanded how, or in what manner, has the colony contrived to pay this apparent enormous balance of imports over the produce exported, especially when it is known that most of the European articles were sold at an advance of from 50 to 100 per cent. on the invoice prices, which, indeed, could not well be otherwise, considering the high premium on bills, and the small quantity of colonial produce to be had for remit-

remittances. The following rough statement will serve to explain this matter :

The army, independent of the clothing and stores, &c. sent from home and money remitted by the officers, could not expend less, in European and Indian goods, and in colonial produce, than 180,000 £. per annum, which in four years is — £. 720,000 0 0

The navy expenditure might, perhaps, amount to half that sum — 360,000 0 0

The re-exportation of India prize goods, and of European goods to the West India islands, the coast of Brazil, and Mozambique, in four years, about — 170,000 0 0

Surplus colonial produce exported as above 60,185 0 0

Making in the whole £. 1,310,185 0 0

Value of the imports as above 1,195,507 3 6

Balance in favour of the colony and the merchants residing there — £. 114,677 16 6

Besides this balance, which may be considered as the joint profit of the colonists and English merchants on that part of colonial produce and imported goods, which have been disposed of, the shops and warehouses at the evacuation of the colony were so full, that it was calculated there were then European and Indian articles sufficient for three years' consumption, and the

the capital of slaves imported was augmented nearly to the amount of 180,000 £.

It appears, then, that five-sixths of the trade of the Cape of Good Hope has been occasioned by the consumption of the garrison and the navy. And, consequently, that unless a very considerable garrison be constantly stationed there, or some other channel be opened for the export of their produce, the colonists, by having increased their capitals in the days of prosperity, and especially of slaves, which is a consuming capital, will rapidly sink into a state of poverty much greater than they were at the capture of the colony. The present garrison are only about one-third of the garrison and navy kept there by Great Britain; and they will, most assuredly, not consume one-fifth of the quantity of colonial produce and imports; so that some new vent must be discovered for the remaining four-fifths, or the colony will be impoverished. What then must be the condition of this place if the garrison, small as it is, should be supported at the expence of the inhabitants? It must, obviously, very speedily consume itself, and the majority of the inhabitants will be reduced to the necessity of clothing themselves with sheep-skins. It is, therefore, the interest of the colonists that the Cape should remain in the hands of the English; the truth of which, indeed, they felt and loudly expressed, before the Dutch flag had been flying two months. A total stagnation to all trade immediately followed the surrender of the place. The merchant of the town was clogged with a heavy capital of foreign goods, for which there was no vent; and the farmer had little demands for his produce. Every one was desirous to sell, and, of course, there were.

were no buyers. The limited amount, for which the Government was authorized to draw on the Asiatic Council of the Batavian Republic, had long been expended; and the arrears of pay and allowances, still due to the garrison, inflamed it to mutiny. The great depreciation of the paper currency held out no encouragement for the Government to try its credit by extending the capital already in circulation. All hard money had totally disappeared, except English copper penny pieces, to the amount of about four thousand pounds. The addition of a French garrison, under the present circumstances, would, in all probability, hasten the destruction of the colony, in so far as regarded a supply of foreign articles in exchange for colonial produce. For, it is not to be supposed, after their treatment of the Dutch at home, they would be inclined to shew more consideration for their colonies.

As a dependency on the Crown of Great Britain, in the natural course of things, it became a flourishing settlement; but the commercial advantages derived to Britain, in consequence of the possession of it, are not of that magnitude as, considered in this point of view only, to make the retention of it a *sine qua non* to a treaty of peace; not even when carried to the highest possible degree of which they are susceptible. Taken in this point of view only, England might very well dispense with the possession of the Cape.

It now remains to consider, in the last place, the important advantages that might result to England, by establishing at the Cape a kind of central depôt for the Southern Whale Fishery.

It is an universally acknowledged truth that, with the promotion of navigation, are promoted the strength and security of the British empire; that the sea is one great source of its wealth and power; and that its very existence, as an independent nation, is owing to the preponderancy of its navy; yet, it would seem that the advantages offered by this element have hitherto been employed only in a very partial manner. Surrounded as we are, on all sides by the sea, every square mile of which is, perhaps, not much less valuable than a square mile of land in its produce of food for the sustenance of man, how long have we allowed another nation to reap the benefit of this wealthy mine, and to support from it, almost exclusively, a population which, in proportion to its territory, was double to that of our own; a nation which, by this very source of industry and wealth, was once enabled to dispute with us the sovereignty of the seas? A nation of fishermen necessarily implies a nation of seamen, a race of bold and hardy warriors. The navy of England has deservedly been long regarded as the great bulwark of the empire, whilst the most certain source of supplying that navy with the best seamen has been unaccountably neglected. Our colonies and our commerce have been hitherto considered as the great nursery of our seamen, but in times like the present, when civilized society is convulsed in every part of the world, our colonies may fail and our commerce may be checked. From what source, then, is our navy to be manned? The glorious feats that have been performed in our ships of war, from the first-rate down to the pinnace, were not by men taken from the plough. Courage alone is not sufficient for the accomplishment of such actions; there must be activity, skill, and management,

such as can be acquired only by constant habit from early youth. The cultivation of the fisheries would afford a never failing supply of men so instructed; would furnish the markets with a wholesome and nutritious food; and would increase our conveniency, extend our manufactures, and promote our commerce.

For, independent of the important consideration of reducing the present high price of butchers' meat, by a more ample supply of fish to the several markets of England, whale oil is now become so valuable an article of consumption in Great Britain, not only for the safety and conveniency it affords by lighting the streets of our cities and great towns at a moderate expence, but as a substitute for tallow and grease in various manufactures, that it may be considered as an indispensable commodity, whose demand is likely to increase in proportion as arts and manufactures are extended, and new applications of its use discovered. We ought, then, to consider both the home fishery for supplying the markets with food, and the whale fishery for furnishing our warehouses with oil, as two standing nurseries for the education of seamen.

One would scarcely infer, from the state of the fisheries at the present day, that our legislature has ever regarded them in this point of view. They have hitherto been carried on in a very limited and partial manner, with encouragement just sufficient (and but barely so) for the supply of our own markets; when common policy should induce us to open foreign markets to take off the surplus of our depôts. Hence it happens, and especially

in time of war, that oil so frequently experiences a fluctuation in its price, which, however favourable it may be to certain individuals who can command large capitals, to whom this limited policy confines the adventure, is discouraging to those who look only for a fair and reasonable, but certain, profit on their industry. If beyond the demands of the market, there was always a redundancy of oil on hand, the price would find its level, and the profits of the adventure be reduced more to a certainty; and, in such case, there is no reason for supposing to the contrary, that England might not supply a considerable part of the continent of Europe with whale oil. The advantage of extending the markets would be an increase of native fishermen without resorting to foreign fishermen.

For many years our fisheries of Greenland were carried on by means of captains, harpooners, and other officers from Holland or the Hans Towns; even for near a century, after the bounties allowed by Government held out a sufficient degree of encouragement to bring up our own seamen to the trade, who are now in skill inferior to none who frequent the Northern Seas. In like manner the Americans, settled at Nantucket, almost exclusively carried on the South Sea Fishery, before the American war; and after the peace, which ceded Nantucket to the United States, they continued to supply our southern adventurers, as the Dutch had done the Northern Fishery, with captains, harpooners, and other officers.

In one out port of this kingdom, the obvious policy of establishing a nursery of southern fishermen has been successfully

attempted. Seven families wishing to remain British subjects, and to derive the benefit of the English markets, had migrated to Nova Scotia, where they were discouraged from extending their colony, and were invited by the Right Honourable Charles Greville to settle at Milford in Milford Haven. They fitted out their ship and had a successful voyage, and the respectable family of Starbuck have extended the concern to four ships.

Parliament wisely continued the limited invitation to foreign fishermen to settle at Milford, and the accession of Mr. Rotch has increased the Milford Fishery to eight ships. And the very extensive connexion of that gentleman in America, is likely to make the port of Milford important to the mutual benefit of commerce between Great Britain and America, for which its situation is so eminently suited. The Southern Whale Fishery, from this place, has not a less capital afloat at this time than 80,000*l*. nor has any whaling ship from the port of Milford the least concern whatsoever with any adventure except the fishing for whales.

It is singular enough that one of the noblest ports in England, whether it be considered in point of situation, commanding, at all times, a free and speedy communication with Ireland and the Western Ocean, and favourable for distribution of merchandize, or regarded as to the conveniencies it possesses as a port and harbour, should so totally have been neglected by the British legislature, that when the families above mentioned first settled there, the place did not afford them a single house for
their

their reception. At this moment, by the removal of artificial obstructions and the unremitting attention of Mr. Greville, there is a town, with suitable protections of batteries, and two volunteer companies; a dock-yard in which three King's ships are now building, a quay, and establishments of the different tradesmen and artificers, which a sea-port necessarily requires. Having proceeded thus far, there can be little doubt that, in the course of half a century, it may class among the greatest of the out-ports.

I mention this circumstance as a striking instance, to shew the importance of the South Sea Fishery, and as a proof that, contrary to the generally received opinion, it may be carried on by skill and management, and without the adventitious aid of trading, so as fully to answer the purpose of those who are properly qualified to embark in the undertaking. For where men, by industry in their profession, rise from small beginnings into affluence, such profession may be followed with a greater certainty of success than many others which appear to hold out more seducing prospects. The American fishermen never set out with a capital, but invariably work themselves into one; and the South Sea Fishery from England may succeed on the same principle, as the above example clearly shews, under every disadvantage, when properly conducted.

It is difficult to point out the grounds of justice or policy in giving tonage bounties to the Greenland Fishery, and only premiums to successful adventurers in the Southern Fishery. A voyage

A voyage to Greenland is four months, the outfit of which is covered by the tonage bounty and, if wholly unsuccessful, the same ship can make a second voyage the same year to some of the ports of the Baltic. A voyage to the South Sea is from twelve to eighteen months, and must depend solely on the success in fishing. A Greenland ship sets out on a small capital, and builds on a quick return; but a South Sea whaler must expend a very considerable capital in making his outfit, for which he can reckon on no returns for at least eighteen months. Hence the usual practice of sending them out in the double capacity of fishers and contraband traders, in order that the losses they may sustain by ill success in fishing may be made good by smuggling.

If by extending the fishery we should be enabled to supply the continent of Europe, two objects should never be out of the view of the Legislature—the exemption from duty of all the produce of the fisheries, and particularly sparmaceti, which, if manufactured into candles, and subject only to the same duty as tallow candles, would produce much more to the revenue than when taxed as it now is, as wax.—I have heard it asserted that the extension of the premium system, by doubling its present amount, which never could exceed 30,000*l.* a year, would be adequate encouragement to supply the home market with spermaceti and black whale oil, and that the bonding of foreign oil in Great Britain would throw the whole agency of American fishery on England with greater advantage to both countries than by any other system.

But

But when we consider that the home market is necessarily secured to British subjects by high duties on foreign oil, we should also consider that every means to lessen the charges of outfit should strengthen our adventure in this lucrative branch of trade. Among others that would seem to have this tendency, are the facilities that might be afforded by the happy position of the Cape of Good Hope. If at this station was established a kind of central depôt for the Southern Whale Fishery, it might, in time, be the means of throwing into our hands exclusively the supplying of Europe with spermaceti oil. To the protection of the fisheries on the east and west coasts of Southern Africa, the Cape is fully competent, and the fisheries on these coasts would be equally undisturbed in war as in peace. From hence they would, at all times, have an opportunity of acquiring a supply of refreshments for their crews, and of laying in a stock of salt provisions at one-fourth part of the expence of carrying them out from England.

In the wide range which, of late years, they have been accustomed to take, from the east, round Cape Horn, to the west coast of America, partly for the sake of carrying on a contraband trade with the Spanish colonies, and partly for fishing, they are destitute, in time of war, of all protection. Hitherto they have suffered little inconvenience from this circumstance, because the Cape of Good Hope gave us the complete and undisturbed possession of the Southern Ocean; but will this be the case in the present war, when the French and Dutch are in possession of the bays and harbours of the Cape? Whilst, from
Europe.

Europe to the Indian Ocean, if we except the Portuguese islands and Rio de Janeiro, whose admision to us is extremely precarious, we have not a creek that will afford us a butt of water, a biscuit, or a bullock.

It is by no means necessary to resort to the coasts of South America to succeed in the Southern Whale Fishery. The whales on the east and west coasts of Africa are of the same kind, of as large a size, and as easily taken, as those on the shores of the opposite continent. The black whales, indeed, are caught with much greater ease, as they resort in innumerable quantities into all the bays on the coasts of South Africa, where there is no risk in encountering them, and less expence as well as more certainty in taking them, than in the open ocean. The spermaceti whale, whose oil is more valuable, and of which one half of the cargo at least should be composed, in order to meet the expences of a long voyage, is equally abundant on the coasts of Southern Africa as on those of America. No objection can therefore lie on the ground of taking the fish.

If policy requires the encouragement of all our fisheries by bounties, and that with a view of increasing the nursery of seamen to Great Britain and Ireland; it may, perhaps, be expedient to extend that encouragement to the inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, a measure which could not fail to bring together the South Sea fishers to its ports to complete their cargoes, giving, by their means, an increased energy and activity to the trade and industry of the settlement.

The situation, the security, and the conveniences of the *Knysna*, are admirably adapted for carrying into execution a fishery on such a plan. Every material either is, or might be, produced upon the spot for equipping their ships. The land is here the very best that the colony affords, and it so happens, that the six months in which it might be dangerous to fish on this coast, are the suitable season for cultivating the land. Such small craft might also find their advantage in running down to the islands in the South Seas and picking up a cargo of seals, and thus anticipate the Americans, who, by means of their fishery and ginseng, and the produce of their lumber cargoes, have worked themselves, as we have already had occasion to notice, into a valuable portion of the China trade. Whereas if oil taken on the coast by the small craft of the inhabitants of the Cape, which might also include oil taken by foreign fishermen and exchanged by them for India or China goods, were admitted to entry in British bottoms into Great Britain at a low colonial duty, the foreign fishermen, who never can be excluded from fishing on the coasts of Africa, might find a market for their oil there. And the Americans would, probably, under such regulations, find it their advantage to supply themselves with Indian produce at the Cape, and extend their fishery only when they could not obtain a vent for their native produce of skins, drugs, and lumber. The situation of the Cape, properly stocked, might thus be an important depôt for British trade with America, and, perhaps, supersede expensive voyages to China in their small ships. This, however, is mere matter of opinion and not of fact. That the

plan they now pursue does answer their expectations, may be inferred from the number of their ships, progressively increasing, which navigate the Indian Seas.

Some few of their ships resort to the bays within the limits of the Cape colony to take the black whale; but as those bays are accessible only at certain seasons of the year, it would be no difficult matter, if an exclusive fishery could be deemed politic, with a single frigate, to clear the coast of all fishers except our own. They sometimes, also, run into Saint Helena Bay to the northward, or into Algoa Bay to the eastward, to complete their cargoes, a privilege that policy would require to be allowed only with moderation even to our own ships; for it has been observed that constant fishing in any one place, never fails to chase the fish entirely away.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Cape of Good Hope might be rendered essentially useful to the Southern Whale Fishery, so important to the commerce and navigation of Great Britain; but that during the war, the same place in the possession of an enemy, may be the means of obstructing this valuable branch of trade, and must, at all events, render it forced and precarious.

Having thus endeavoured to state the different points of view in which the Cape of Good Hope may be considered of importance to the British nation, as a military and naval station, as a seat of commerce, and a depôt for the Southern Whale Fishery,

Fishery, it remains only to inquire how far it is, or may become, value as a colony, or territorial acquisition, intrinsically, and independent of other considerations. This point will best be ascertained by a topographical description and a statistical sketch of the settlement, which will be the subject of the following chapter, and with which I shall close the present volume.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Cape of Good Hope might be rendered essentially useful to the Southern Whale Fishery, so important to the commerce and navigation of Great Britain; but that during the war, the same place in the possession of an enemy, may be the means of obstructing this valuable branch of trade, and must, at all events, render it forced and precarious. Having thus endeavoured to state the different points of view in which the Cape of Good Hope may be considered of importance to the British nation, as a military and naval station, as a seat of commerce, and a depot for the Southern Whale Fishery.

CHAP. VI.

Topographical Description and Statistical Sketch of the Cape Settlement.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.—*Dimensions.—Extent.—Soil.—Climate.—Winds.—Scarcity of Water.—Permanent Rivers enumerated and described.—Mountains.—Divisions, Population, and Produce.—Provincial Judicature.—DISTRICT OF THE CAPE—Extent of and Quantity of Land under Cultivation.—Cape Town.—Stock, Produce, and Population ascertained by the Opgaaff.—Births and Mortality.—Criminals.—Natural Products of the Cape District.—DISTRICT OF STELLENBOSCH AND DRAKENSTEIN—Extent and Divisions of.—The Drosdy or Village—Situation and Produce of the other Divisions of this District—Stock and Population of, according to the Opgaaff.—DISTRICT OF ZWELLEDAM—Dimensions, Extent, and Divisions of—the Drosdy or Village of.—Situation and Produce of the other Divisions—Stock and Population according to the Opgaaff.—DISTRICT OF GRAAF REYNET—Dimensions, Extent, and Divisions of—Drosdy or Village of.—Situation and Produce of the other Divisions of this District—Stock and Population according to the Opgaaff.—TENURES OF LANDS.—Loan Farms, Nature and Number of.—Gratuity Lands.—Quit Rents.—Freeholds.—Reasons against Improvement of Estates in the Cape.—Property frequently changes Hands.—CONDITION OF THE INHABITANTS.—Necessaries of Life obtained without Exertion.—Four Classes of Colonists—Those of the Town, Condition of.—Taxes and Assessments moderate.—Tythes or Church Rates none—no Poor Rates.—Police conducted by a College of Burghers—their Functions—Neglect and Abuses of.—Improvement suggested.—Indifference of the Colonists for rational Amusements.—The Wine Growers, Condition and Resources of—State of their Outgoings and Returns.—Easy Terms of purchasing Estates.—Corn Boors, Condition of—State of their Outgoings and Returns.—Graziers, indolent and helpless Condition of—their bad Character—subject to no Taxes—State*

of Outgoings and Returns.—REVENUES OF GOVERNMENT—*Nature of the thirteen Heads of, and Table of their Amount for four successive Years.*—JURISPRUDENCE.—*Nature and Constitution of the Court—its Members.*—Civil Causes.—Attornies.—Office of Fiscal.—Court of Commissaries for petty Suits, and matrimonial Affairs.—The Weeskammer, or Chamber for managing the Effects of Minors and Orphans—its Functions.—RELIGION, that of the Reformed Church.—Lutherans and others barely tolerated.—Condition of the Clergy—Duties of—direct the Funds raised for the Relief of the Poor—are Curators of the public School.—Amount of Church Funds.—IMPROVEMENTS SUGGESTED, by the Introduction of Chinese—easily effected by the British Government—by Moravian Establishments of Hottentots in the distant Parts—by enclosing the Farms—leading their Vines up Props or Espaliers.—New System in the Tillage of Corn Lands.—Establishment of Fairs or Markets, and erecting of Villages—Consequences of these.—Conclusion.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

IF from the southern point of the Cape peninsula, which, however, is not the southernmost point of Africa, a straight line be drawn in the direction of east by north, it will cut the mouth of the Great Fish River, the *Rio d'Infanté* of the Portuguese, which is now considered as the eastern boundary of the colony. The length of this line is about five hundred and eighty miles.

If from the same point a straight line be drawn in the direction of north, with a little inclination westerly, it will fall in with the mouth of the River *Kouffie*, the northern boundary of the colony, at the distance of about three hundred and fifteen miles.

And, if from the mouth of the Great Fish River a line, drawn in the direction of north-north-west, be continued to the distance
of

of two hundred and twenty-five miles, to a point behind the Snowy Mountains called *Plettenberg's Landmark*, and from thence be continued in a circular sweep inwards to the mouth of the River *Kouffie*, upwards of five hundred miles; these lines will circumscribe the tract of country which constitutes the colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

By reducing this irregular figure to a parallelogram, it will be found to comprehend an area of at least one hundred and twenty thousand square miles. And as it appears that the whole population of whites, blacks, and Hottentots, within this area, amounts only to about sixty thousand souls, though it cannot boast that

“Every rood of ground maintains its man,” yet every two square miles may be said to have at least one human creature allotted to it. If, therefore, the Dutch at home occupy one of the most populous countries in Europe, they possess abroad the most desert colony that is certainly to be met with upon the face of the globe. But as this is less owing to the natural defects of the country, than to the regulations under which it has been governed, the comparative population with the extent of surface ought not be taken as the test of the intrinsic value of the settlement, as the population of any country, under a moderate climate, will, in the natural course of things, always rise to a level with the means of subsistence.

As the best soil for vegetable growth is unquestionably produced from a decomposition of vegetable matter, it amounts

to a pleonasm to say, that the richest soil will invariably be found where vegetation is most abundant and most luxuriant; the soil and the plant acting reciprocally as cause and effect. Hence, if climate were entirely out of the question, we should have an infallible criterion for determining the quality of soil in any country by the abundance or scarcity, the luxuriance or poverty, of the native plants. Measuring the soil of the Cape settlement by this scale, it would be pronounced among the poorest in the known world; for I may safely venture to say, that seven parts in ten of the above mentioned surface are, for a great part of the year, and some of them at all times, destitute of the least appearance of verdure. The upper regions of all the chains of mountains are naked masses of sandstone; the valleys at their feet are clothed with grass, with thickets, and sometimes with impenetrable forests. The inferior hills or knolls, whose surfaces are generally composed of loose fragments of sandstone, as well as the wide sandy plains that connect them, are thinly strewed over with heaths and other shrubby plants, exhibiting to the eye an uniform and dreary appearance. In the lowest parts of these plains, where the waters subside and, filtering through the sand, break out in springs upon the surface, vegetation is somewhat more luxuriant. In such situations the farm-houses are generally placed; and the patches of cultivated ground contiguous to them, like the *Oases* in the sandy deserts, may be considered as so many verdant islands in the midst of a boundless waste; serving to make the surrounding wilderness more dreary by comparison. Of such plains and knolls is the belt of land composed that lies between the first chain of mountains and the sea-coasts.

The

The soils, in general, on this tract of country, are either of stiff clay, into which there is no possibility of entering with a plough till well soaked by heavy rains, or of a light and sandy nature, commonly of a reddish tinge, and abounding with small round quartzose pebbles. Seldom any free black vegetable mould appears except in the small patches of garden ground, vineyards, and orchards that surround the habitations, where, by long culture, manure, and the fertilizing influence of springs or a permanent rill of water, the soil is so far mellowed as to admit the spade at all seasons of the year.

But those vast plains, which are known in the colony by the Hottentot name of *Karoo*, and which are interposed between the great chains of mountains, wear a still more dismal appearance than the lower plains that are chequered with patches of cultivated ground. Out of their impenetrable surfaces of clay, glistering with small crystals of quartz, and condemned to perpetual drought and aridity, not a blade of grass, and scarcely a verdant twig, occurs to break the barren uniformity. The hills, by which the surface of these plains are sometimes broken, are chiefly composed of fragments of blue slate, or masses of felspar, and argillaceous ironstone; and the surfaces of these are equally denuded of plants as those of the plains.

Yet, as I have already had occasion to observe, wherever the Karroo plains are tinged with iron, and water can be brought upon them, the soil is found to be extremely productive. The same effect is observable in the neighbourhood of the Cape, where the soil is coloured with iron; or where masses of a
brown

brown ochraceous stone (the oxyd of iron combined with clay) lie just below the surface, where they are sometimes found in extensive strata. In such situations they have the best grapes and the best of every sort of fruit, which may be owing, probably, to the manganese that this kind of dark brown iron-stone generally contains, and which modern discoveries in chemistry have ascertained to be particularly favourable to the growth of plants.

There is neither a volcano nor a volcanic product in the southern extremity of Africa, at least in any of those parts where I have been, nor any substances that seem to have undergone the action of fire, except masses of iron-stone found generally among the boggy earth in the neighbourhood of some of the hot springs, and which appear like the scoriae of furnaces. Pieces of pumice-stone have been picked up on the shore of Robben Island, and on the coast near Algoa Bay, which must have been wafted thither by the waves, as the whole basis of this island is a hard and compact blue schistus, with veins of quartz running through it, and of the eastern coast iron-stone and granite.

The climate of the Cape may be considered as not unfriendly to vegetation; but by reason of its situation, within the influence of a kind of Monsoon or periodical winds, the rains are very unequal, descending in torrents during the cold season, whilst scarcely a shower falls to refresh the earth in the hot summer months, when the dry south-east winds prevail. These winds blast the foliage, blossom, and fruit of all those trees that

are not well sheltered from their baneful gusts, which, for about six months, almost constantly blow from that quarter. Nor is the human constitution more proof against the painful sensation of the south-east winds of the Cape than the plants. Like the south-east Sirocco of Naples they relax and fatigue both the body and mind, rendering them utterly incapable of activity or energy. During their continuance the town appears to be deserted. Every door and window is closed to keep out the dust and the heat, both of which diminish with the continuance of the gale; the air gradually cools, and every small pebble and particle of dust in the course of four-and-twenty hours is carried into the sea.

The necessity of protecting the fruit groves, vineyards, and gardens from these winds, has led those colonists who dwell on the nearer side of the first chain of mountains, for they are not much felt beyond them, to divide that portion of their grounds, so employed, by oak skreens, a plant that grows here much more rapidly than in Europe; but their corn-lands are entirely open. A Cape boer bestows no more labour on his farm than is unavoidable; and as grain is mostly reaped before the south-east winds are fairly set in, the enclosure of the arable land did not appear to be necessary, and was consequently omitted.

The climate of the Cape is remarkably affected by local circumstances. In the summer months there is at least from 6 to 10 degrees of Fahrenheit's scale in the difference of temperature between Cape Town and Wynberg, whose distance is only about seven or eight miles, owing to the latter being on the wind-

ward

ward side of the Table Mountain, and the former to leeward of it; from whence, also, the rays of the meridian sun are thrown back upon the town, as from the surface of a concave mirror. The variation of climate, to which the Table Valley is subject, led one of the British officers to observe that those who lived in it were either in an oven, or at the funnel of a pair of bellows, or under a water-spout. On the Cape side of the mountains the thermometer rarely descends below 40° ; but on the elevated Karroo plains, within the mountains, it is generally, in the winter months, below the freezing point by night, and from 70 to 80 in the middle of the day.

I think this intense cold of the Karroo plains, beyond what might be expected from their parallel of latitude or elevation, may satisfactorily be accounted for from the ingenious experiments of Mr. Von Humboldt, on the chemical decomposition of the atmospherical air. He proves that fat and clayey earths are strongly disposed to attract the oxygen from the atmosphere, by which the azotic gas is let loose; and this gas, entering again into combination with fresh oxygen, of the superincumbent stratum, in an increased proportion, forms nitric acid, from which saltpetre is generated. That saltpetre is abundantly formed on those plains is an indisputable fact, as I have fully shewn in the second chapter of the first volume; and the consequence of such formation must necessarily be a great diminution of temperature in those places where the operation is most powerfully carrying on. Hence may be explained those columns of cold air through which one frequently passes upon the Karroo plains.

The north-west winds of winter have a moist and cold feel even in Cape Town, where, though thermometer seldom descends below 40° , and then only about an hour before sun-rise, all the English inhabitants were glad to keep constant fires during the months of July, August, and September. Even in October it is not unusual to observe the summits of the mountains to the eastward of the Cape isthmus buried in snow.

But as I have taken particular notice of the remarkable changes of temperature in different seasons and situations in the former volume, I must beg leave to refer the reader to it for further information on this subject.

The great scarcity of water in summer, the reason of which I have endeavoured to account for in the second chapter, is much more unfavourable to an extended cultivation than either the soil or climate. The torrents of rain that descend for about four months in the year, deluging the whole country, disappear suddenly, for the reasons therein stated, leaving the deep sunken beds of the rivers nearly dry, or so far exhausted as to be rendered incapable of supplying the purposes of irrigation. The periodical rivulets, and the streams that issue from the mountain springs, are either absorbed or evaporated before they arrive at any great distance from their sources. In the whole compass of this extensive colony, one can scarcely say that there is a single navigable river.

The two principal rivers, on the western coast, are the *Berg* or *Mountain River*, which takes its rise in the mountains that

enclose the Vale of Drakenstein, and falls into Saint Helena Bay; and the *Oliphant* or Elephant's River, which, after collecting the streamlets of the first chain of mountains in its northerly course along their feet, empties itself into the Southern Atlantic in $31^{\circ} 30'$ south. Though both these rivers have permanent streams of water, sufficiently deep to be navigable by small craft, to the distance of about twenty miles up the country, yet the mouth of the former is choaked up with a bed of sand, and across the latter is a reef of rocks.

On the south coast of the colony the permanent rivers of any magnitude are, the *Broad River*, the *Gauritz River*, the *Knysna*, the *Keurboom River*, the *Camtoos River*, the *Zwartkops River*, the *Sunday River*, and the *Great Fish River*; the last of which terminates the colony to the eastward.

The *Broad River* is discharged into Saint Sebastian's Bay, which the Dutch consider as a dangerous navigation, though there have been instances of their ships taking shelter there in the north-west monsoon at no great distance from the mouth of the river, which is here a sheet of water more than a mile in width; but, like every other river on this coast, except the *Knysna*, it is crossed by a bar of sand. Within this bar it might be navigated by small craft about thirty miles up the country, an extent, however, in which there are scarcely half a dozen farm-houses.

The *Gauritz River* is a collection of water from the Great *Karoo* plains, the *Black Mountains*, and the chain that runs parallel,

parallel, and nearest, to the sea-coast. The branches to the northward of this chain are periodical, but it flows, to the southward, throughout the year, though, in the summer months, with a very weak current. In the rainy season it is considered as the most rapid and dangerous river in the whole colony. Its mouth opens into the sea, where the coast is straight, and it is crossed by a bar of sand which, in summer, is generally dry.

The Knyfna, being altogether different from the other rivers in the colony, is particularly noticed, and a sketch of it given, in the second chapter, to which I must beg leave to refer the reader.

The Keurboom River, like the Knyfna, runs up into the midst of tall forests, and might be navigated by boats to a considerable distance, but its mouth, in Plettenberg's Bay, is completely sanded up by the almost perpetual rolling swell of the sea, from the south-eastward upon the sandy beach.

The Camtoos River is a collection of waters from the same parts of the country as, but more easterly than, the Gauritz River. It falls into a wide bay of the same name, in which the only secure anchorage is opposite the mouth of a small stream called the *Kromme* or Crooked River. Though Camtoos River, just within the mouth, is a wide basin deep enough to float a ship of the line, yet the bar of sand across the mouth is fordable upon the beach at high water, and frequently dry at low water.

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The Zwart Kops River is a clear permanent stream of water flowing down one of the most beautiful and fertile valleys in the colony; and is among the very few of those that, by damming, may be turned upon the contiguous grounds. Mr. Rice, whom I have had occasion to mention, succeeded by a great deal of perseverance in getting a boat over the bar, and sailed about eight miles up this valley, to which distance only the tide flows. The whole country in the vicinity of the river and the bay of the same name, into which it falls, is among the most fertile parts of the colony.

The Sunday River, likewise, falls into Algoa or Zwart Kop's Bay, opposite to the islands of Saint Croix. It rises in the midst of the Snowy Mountains, and continues a permanently flowing stream, broad and shallow in the middle part of its course, and narrow and deep towards the mouth, which, like the rest, is choaked with a bed of sand.

The Great Fish River takes its rise beyond the Snowy Mountains, and, in its long course, collects a multitude of streamlets, most of which are constantly supplied with water. On each side of its mouth is a wild, rocky, and open shore, but the projecting cheeks form a small cove or creek, which, it seems, was frequented by the Portuguese shortly after their discovery of the Cape; though, from the boisterous appearance of the sea, upon the bar that evidently crosses the entrance of the river, it is difficult to conceive how they dared to trust their ships in such an exposed situation, unless, indeed, they were so small as

to

to be able, at high water, to cross the bar, in which case they might lie, at all seasons, in perfect security.

All these rivers are well stocked with perch, eels, and small turtle, and, to a certain distance from the sea-coast, they abound with almost every kind of sea-fish peculiar to this part of the world.

Beside the rivers here enumerated, the whole slip of land, stretching along the sea-coast, between the entrance of False Bay and the Great Fish River, is intersected by streamlets whose waters are neither absorbed nor evaporated; but they generally run in such deep chasms as to be of little use towards the promotion of agriculture by the aid of irrigation.

The mountains, as I have before observed, generally run in chains, parallel to each other, and most commonly in the direction of east and west. At a distance they possess neither the sublime nor the beautiful, but the approach to their bases and the passages of the kloofs are awfully grand and terrific; sometimes their naked points of solid rock rise almost perpendicularly, like a wall of masonry, to the height of three, four, and even five thousand feet, resembling the Table Mountain on the Cape peninsula; sometimes the inclination of the strata is so great, that the whole mass of mountain appears to have its centre of gravity falling without the base, and as if it momentarily threatened to strew the plain with its venerable ruins; in other places, where the looser fragments have given way, they are
irregu-

irregularly peaked and broken into a variety of fantastic shapes. In short, all the chains of mountains in the southern part of South Africa, may be considered to be made up of a repetition of parts similar to those of the Devil's Hill, the Table Mountain, and the Lion's Head, and of the same materials, but generally of a more gigantic size; and all their summits are entirely destitute of verdure.

DIVISION, POPULATION, and PRODUCE.

When the Dutch East India Company perceived their settlement extending far beyond the bounds they had originally prescribed, they found it expedient to divide the country into districts, and to place over each a civil magistrate with the title of *Landroft*, who, with his council called *Hemraaden*, was authorized to settle petty disputes among the farmers, or between them and the native Hottentots, levy fines within a certain sum, collect and apply the parochial assessments, and enforce the orders and regulations of Government. His district was distributed into a number of subdivisions, over each of which was appointed a *Feldtwagtmeeſter* or country overseer, whose duty was to take cognizance of any abuses committed within his division, and report the same to the Landroft, to adjust disputes about springs or water-courses, and to forward the orders of Government.

Little as the authority was which Government had thus delegated to the Landroft and his assistants, that little was subject

sometimes to abuse, sometimes to neglect, and very often to contempt.

In fact, all systems of provincial judicature seem liable to the same objections. If too much power be confided in the hands of the magistrates, the temptation to corruption is proportionally great, and to attempt to execute the law without the power would seem a mockery of justice. The latter was very much the case in the distant parts of the Cape colony.

For want of such a power the laws have certainly, in most cases, proved unavailing. The Landroft had only the shadow of authority. The council and the country overseers were composed of farmers, and were always more ready to screen and protect their brother boors, accused of crimes, than to assist in bringing them to justice. The poor Hottentot had little chance of obtaining redress for the wrongs he suffered from the boors. However willing the Landroft might be to receive his complaints, he possessed not the means of removing the grievance. To espouse the cause of the Hottentot was a sure way to lose his popularity. And the distance from the capital was a sufficient obstacle to the preferring of complaints before the Court of Justice at the Cape. Whenever this has happened, the orders of the Court of Justice met with as little respect, at the distance of five or six hundred miles, as the orders of the Landroft and his council. If a man, after being summoned, did not chuse to appear, there was no force in the country to compel him; and they knew it would have been fruitless to
dispatch

dispatch such a force from the Cape. Hence murders and the most atrocious crimes were committed with impunity; and the only punishment was a sentence of outlawry for contempt of Court; a sentence that was attended with little inconvenience to the criminal, who still continued to maintain his ground in society, as if no such sentence was hanging over him. It debarred him, it is true, from making his usual visits to the capital, but he found no difficulty in getting his business done by commission. Numberless instances of this kind occurred, yet the system remained the same. Perhaps, indeed, it would be difficult to suggest a better, till a greater degree of population shall compel the inhabitants to dwell in villages, or the limits of the colony be contracted into a narrower compass.

This extensive settlement, whose dimensions have been given above, is divided into four districts, namely,

1. The district of the Cape.
2. ——— of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein.
3. ——— of Zwellendam.
4. ——— of Graaf Reynet.

CAPE DISTRICT.

Of these the Cape district is by much the smallest, but the most populous. It may be considered as divided into two parts; one consisting of the peninsula on which the Town is situated, the other of the slip of land extending from the shore of Table Bay to the mouth of the Berg River in Saint Helena Bay, and

separated from Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, on the east, by the Little Salt River, Deep River, and Mossel Bank River, being about eighty miles from north to south, and twenty-five from east to west; containing, therefore, about two thousand square miles. The Cape peninsula is about thirty miles in length and eight in breadth, or two hundred and forty square miles. According to an account of his stock, produce, and land under cultivation, which every man is obliged annually to give in to the police officers, and which is called the *Opgaaff* list, it appears that, notwithstanding the comparative short distance of every part of the Cape district from a market, not one fifteenth part of the surface is under any kind of tillage.

Cape Town is built with great regularity, the streets being all laid out with a line. The houses are generally white-washed, and the doors and windows painted green; are mostly two stories in height, flat-roofed, with an ornament in the centre of the front, or a kind of pediment; a raised platform before the door with a seat at each end. It consists of 1145 dwelling-houses, inhabited by about five thousand five hundred whites and people of colour, and ten thousand blacks. The first class is composed of those who fill the several departments of Government, the clergy, the members of the Court of Justice, and of the Police. The next are a sort of gentry who, having estates in the country, retail the produce of them through their slaves; then comes a number of petty dealers, who call themselves merchants, and, lastly, the tradesmen, who carry on their several professions through their blacks. Many of the people of colour are fishermen.

Besides

Besides the castle and the forts, the other public buildings are, a large well-built barrack for 2000 men; a quadrangular building, with an area in the centre, where the Government slaves are lodged to the number of four hundred nearly; the Reformed Church, which is a spacious and neat structure; the Lutheran Church; the town-house; the Court of Justice; and a theatre.

Towards the northern extremity of the district, in that part of it which is called *Zwartland*, there is a small church with a very neat and comfortable parsonage-house, garden, vineyard, and corn-land, but no village near it.

The produce of the Cape peninsula is grapes, with all the European and many of the tropical fruits, vegetables of every description, barley for the use of horses, and a small quantity of choice wine. Of the other parts of the Cape district, wheat, barley, pulse, and wine.

By a regulation of the Dutch Government, every householder was obliged annually to give in the number of his family, the amount of his live stock, and the produce of his farm. As this had been done in a loose and slovenly manner, and as the augmentation of ten thousand souls rendered it important to ascertain the means afforded by the colony for their subsistence, Lord Macartney required that, for the future, every man should give in his statement upon oath. When this new regulation was made, the *Opgaaff*, for that year, had already been taken in the usual way, but, on being repeated, the numbers, in some articles, were

were found to exceed those in the former account in a threefold proportion.

The following is an abstract of the *Opgaaff* for the Cape district in the year 1797, when it was first required to be given in on oath.

<i>Population.</i>			
Men	-	-	1566
Women	-	-	1354
Sons	-	-	1451
Daughters	-	-	1658
Servants	-	-	232
			— Christians
Men slaves	-	-	6673
Women slaves	-	-	2660
Slave children	-	-	2558
			— Slaves
			11,891
Total population of the Cape district			18,152

Of the above number of Christians or free people, 718 are persons of colour, and one thousand, nearly, are Europeans.

<i>Stock and Produce.</i>			
Horses (his Majesty's cavalry not included)			8334
Horned cattle	-	-	20,957
Sheep and goats	-	-	61,575

Hogs

Hogs	-	-	758
Vine plants	-	-	1,560,109
Leggers of wine made (each 160 gallons)	-	-	786½
Muids of wheat sown in 1796,			
3464—reaped	-	-	32,962
Muids of barley sown in 1796,			
887—reaped	-	-	18,819
Muids of rye sown in 1796,			
39—reaped	-	-	529
Quantity of land employed in vineyards and gardens	-	-	580 morgen
In grain	-	-	3089 ditto

Total 3669 morgen or 7338 acres.

The quantity of land occupied, as given in, amounts to 8018 morgen, or 16,036 acres; but as land-measuring is very little understood or attended to, this part of the *Opgaaff* may be considered as incorrect.

The consumption of Cape Town in the same year was,

	Head of Cattle.	Head of Sheep.	Leggers of Wine.	Muids of Wheat.	Muids of Barley.
Army	4562	22,812	2000	10,000	19,460
Navy	1810	9044	1000	6,000	
Inhabitants	5000	130,000	3000	16,900	10,000
Total consumption	11,372	161,856	6000	32,900	29,460

The following table shews the number of marriages, christenings, and burials in Cape Town for eight years.

Years.	Marriages.	Christenings.	Burials.
1790	130	350	186
1791	97	354	146
1792	174	360	144
1793	158	288	116
1794	211	308	111
1795	213	308	145
1796	249	257	168
1797	217	364	157
In 8 years	1449	2589	1173

Making 1416 the excess of christenings above burials in eight years. As all marriages must be performed in Cape Town the column of marriages are those in the whole colony. By comparing the average number of deaths with the population, it will appear that the mortality in the Cape district is about $2\frac{3}{100}$ in the hundred. Of the slaves the mortality is rather more, but less, perhaps, than in any other country where slavery is tolerated. The number, as we have seen, in the Cape district is 11,891; and the number of deaths, on an average of eight years, was 350, which is after the rate of three in the hundred.

Capital crimes in the Cape district are less frequent than they might be supposed among such a mixed multitude, where a great majority have no interest in the public prosperity or tranquillity.

The

The strength of the garrison contributed materially to keep the slaves in order; and instances of capital crimes were less numerous under the British Government than in any former period of the same duration for the last thirty years. In six years 63 were sentenced to suffer death, of which 30 were publicly executed, and the rest condemned to work at the fortifications in chains for life. The sentence of such as escaped execution was not changed on account of any palliative circumstance or insufficient testimony, but because confession of the crime is indispensably necessary to the execution of the sentence; and this confession being now no longer extorted by the application of the torture, most of them persist to deny the crime of which they are accused; preferring a life of hard labour, with a diet of bread and water, to an untimely death.

With respect to the natural produce of the Cape district, what has yet been discovered is of little or no importance, except its fisheries. The wax-plant grows abundantly upon the sandy isthmus, but the berries are not considered to be worth the labour of gathering. The collecting of shells to burn into lime, and of heaths and other shrubby plants for fuel, furnish constant employment for about one thousand slaves. The great destruction of the frutescent plants on the Cape peninsula and the isthmus will be very severely felt in the course of a few years. The plantations of the silver-tree on that brow of Table Mountain which is next to the isthmus, are experiencing the same destruction for the sake of a temporary profit, and so thoughtless, or so indolent, are the proprietors of the land, that little

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pains are bestowed to keep up a succession of young trees. No further trials have yet been made for coal.

In the first chapter of the former volume, I suggested several articles that appeared to be suitable to the climate of the Cape, and in the last chapter mentioned the success that had attended the trial of many of them. Since that was written I had an opportunity, among many other English gentlemen, of giving a fair trial to the common Lucern, the *Medicago sativa*, and found it to answer beyond all expectation, whether thinly sown in drills or transplanted. It was cut down and grew again, to the height of eighteen inches every six weeks throughout the year, except in the months of July, August, and September, when it remained nearly stationary. Mr. Duckett, the agriculturist, found the common burnet, *Poterium Sanguisorba*, to succeed equally well on dry grounds. The advantages of these two plants, as summer food for cattle and sheep, would be incalculable to a people who knew how to avail themselves of them, and in a country where all verdure disappears for four months in the year. But it may be observed, with regard to the introduction of these and other foreign articles, that until a fuller population of white inhabitants shall oblige them to habits of industry, it would be in vain to expect any encouragement to additional resources, or improvement of those they have long possessed.

DISTRICT

DISTRICT of STELLENBOSCH and DRAKENSTEIN.

Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, though one district under the jurisdiction of one Landroft, have distinct Hemraaden or Councils. After deducting the small district of the Cape, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein include the whole extent of country from Cape L'Aguillas, the southernmost point of Africa, to the River Kouffie, the northern boundary of the colony; a line of 380 miles in length; and the mean breadth from east to west is about 150 miles, comprehending an area, after subtracting that of the Cape district, equal to fifty-five thousand square miles. Twelve hundred families are in possession of this extensive district, so that each family, on an average, has forty-six square miles of land, a quantity more than five times that which the Dutch Government thought to be extensive enough to keep the settlers asunder, and sufficient to allow the houses to stand at more than twice the regulated distance of three miles from each other. The greater part, however, of this extensive surface may be considered as of little value, consisting of naked mountains, sandy hills, and Karroo plains. But a portion of the remainder composes the most valuable possessions of the whole colony; whether they be considered as to the fertility of the soil, the temperature of the climate, or their proximity to the Cape, which, at present, is the only market in the colony where the farmer has an opportunity to dispose of his produce. The parts of the district to which I allude, are those divisions beginning at False Bay and stretching along the feet of the great chain of mountains,

tains, on the Cape side, as far as the mouth of the Olifants River. These divisions are,

1. *The Drosdy of Stellenbosch.*
2. *Jonker's Hoeck.*
3. *Bange Hoeck.*
4. *Klapmuts.*
5. *Bottelary's Gebergte.*
6. *Saxenberg's Gebergte.*
7. *Eerste River.*
8. *Hottentot's Holland.*
9. *Moddergat.*
10. *Drakenstein* and its environs, consisting of
 - a. *Little Drakenstein.*
 - b. *Fransche Hoeck.*
 - c. *Paarl Village.*
 - d. *Dall Josephat.*
 - e. *Waagen Maaker's Valley.*
 - f. *Groeneberg.*
11. *Pardeberg.*
12. *Riebeck's Casteel.*
13. *East Zwartland.*
14. *Four-and-twenty Rivers.*
15. *Piquetberg.*
16. *Olifants' River.*

The transmontane divisions are,

17. *The Biedouw.*
18. *Onder Bokkeveld.*

19. *Han-*

19. *Hantum.*
20. *Khamiesberg.*
21. *Roggeveld*, consisting of Upper, Middle, and Little Roggeveld.
22. *Neiuvveld and the Ghowp.*
23. *Bokkeveld*, warm and cold.
24. *Hex River.*
25. *Breede River.*
26. *Ghoudinee and Brandt Valley.*
27. *Roode Sand or Waveren.*
28. *Bot River.*
29. *Zwarteberg.*
30. *Drooge Ruggens.*
31. *River Zonder End.*
32. *Uyl Kraal.*
33. *Soetendal's Valley.*

1. The *drofdy* of *Stellenbosch*, or the residence of the Landroft, is a very handsome village, consisting of an assemblage of about seventy habitations, to most of which are attached offices, out-houses, and gardens, so that it occupies a very considerable space of ground. It is laid out into several streets or open spaces, planted with oaks that have here attained a greater growth than in any other part of the colony, many of them not being inferior in size to the largest elms in Hyde Park. Yet, a few years ago, the most beautiful of these trees were rooted out in order to raise a paltry sum of money towards the exigencies of the parish; and paltry, indeed, it was, the very finest tree being fold

fold at the low price of 20 rix dollars, or four pounds currency, and most of them for not a fourth part of this sum. For such a barbarous act the villagers, in some countries, would have been apt to have hung both the Landroft and Hemraaden upon their branches. How far they were suffered to proceed I cannot say, but I saw at least half a hundred of these venerable ruins lying in the streets.

The village is delightfully situated at the feet of lofty mountains, on the banks of the *Eerste* or First River, at the distance of twenty-six miles from Cape Town. In it is a small and neat church, to which is annexed a parsonage-house with a good garden and very extensive vineyard. The clergyman has a salary from Government of 120 *l.* a year, with this house, garden, and vineyard free of all rent and taxes, in lieu of other emoluments received by the clergy of Cape Town. The condition, therefore, of the country clergy is at least equal and perhaps preferable to that of those who reside in the town. Provisions of every kind are much cheaper; they have the advantage of keeping their own cattle; sowing their own grain; planting vineyards and making their own wine; and, in a word, they possess the means of raising within themselves almost all the necessaries of life. In addition to these advantages, if the clergyman should have the good fortune to be popular in his district, which, however, is no easy matter to accomplish, he is sure to be loaden with presents from day to day. Nothing, in such case, is thought too good for the minister. Game of all kinds, fat lambs, fruit, wine, and other "good things of this life,"
are

are continually pouring in upon him. His outgoings are chiefly confined to the expence of clothing his family and a little tea and sugar.

The establishment of the Landroft is still more sumptuous. He has the enjoyment of a salary and emoluments that seldom fall short of 1500*l.* a year; a most excellent house to live in, pleasantly situated on a plain at the head of the village, before which are a couple of venerable oaks, scarcely exceeded in England; and an extensive garden and orchard, well planted with every kind of fruit, and a vineyard.

Most of the grounds in or near the village are what they call *Eigendoms* or freeholds, though they are held by a small recognizance to Government, but they are totally different from loan-farms, which are the usual kind of tenure in the colony, and of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. *Jonker's Hoeck, Bange Hoeck, Klapmutz, Bottelary's Gebergte, Saxenberg's Gebergte, Eerste River, Hottentot's Holland, and Moddergat*, are small divisions surrounding the droefdy, and lying between it and False Bay. They consist chiefly of freehold estates, and produce wine, brandy, fruit, fresh butter, poultry, and a variety of articles for the Cape market, and for the supply of shipping whilst they continue to lie in Simon's Bay. They yield, also, a small quantity of corn, but this article without manure, or a better system of tillage, is scarcely worth the labour of cultivating so near the Cape, where they can employ the land to better advantage. The best farm

at Klapmutz was granted in loan to Mr. Duckett, the English agriculturist, for the purpose of making his experiments, for the instruction of the African boors.

10. *Drakenstein* and its environs consist of a fertile tract of country, situate at the feet of the great chain of mountains, at the distance of 30 to 40 miles from the Cape. The whole extensive valley of *Drakenstein* is well watered by the Berg River and its numerous branches; the soil is richer than in most parts of the colony, and the sheltered and warm situation is particularly favourable to the growth of the vine and different kinds of fruit.

a. This subdivision of Little *Drakenstein* occupies the middle of the valley, and contains many substantial farms, most of them freehold property; in fact, the two *Drakensteins* and the next subdivision supply two-thirds of the wine that is brought to the Cape market.

b. *Fransche Hoeck*, or the French Corner, is situated in the south-east angle of the valley among the mountains, and took its name from the French refugees having settled there, when they fled to this country after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. To these people the colony is indebted for the introduction of the vine. The estates here are mostly freehold property, and produce little else than wine and fruits.

c. The village of the Paarl is situated at the foot of a hill that shuts in the Valley of *Drakenstein* on the west side. It consists of

of about thirty habitations disposed in a line, but so far detached from each other, with intermediate orchards, gardens, and vineyards, as to form a street from half a mile to a mile in length. About the middle of this street, on the east side, stands the church, a neat octagonal building covered with thatch; and at the upper end is a parsonage-house, with garden, vineyard, and fruit-groves; and a large tract of very fine land. No attention seems to have been omitted by Government in providing comfortably for the country clergy. The blocks of granite, the paarl and the diamond, that overhang this village, are particularly noticed in the second chapter of the first volume.

d. e. Dall Josephat and Waagen-maaker's Valley are two small dales enclosed between the hilly projections that branch out towards the north or upper end of the valley of Drakenstein; the best oranges, as well as the best peaches, and other fruit, are said to be produced in these dales; and the wines are among the first in quality.

f. Groeneberg is the largest of these projecting hills that run across the northern extremity of the valley, and the soil is productive in fruit, wine, and corn.

The whole valley, comprehending the above subdivisions, is comparatively so well inhabited, that few animals, in a state of nature, are now to be found upon it. Of hares, however, there is no scarcity; and two species of bustards, the red-winged and the common partridge, and quails, are in great plenty. The *Klip-springer* antelope, and the *reebok* are plentiful in the

mountains, and *duykers*, *greisboks*, and *steenboks* not very scarce among the hills towards the northern extremity of the valley. The inhabitants are also annoyed with wolves, hyænas, and jackalls, which descend in the nights from the neighbouring mountains.

11. *Paardeberg*, or the Horse Mountain, so called from the number of wild horses or zebras that formerly frequented it, is a continuation of the Paarl Mountain to the northward. The produce of the farms is chiefly confined to wheat, which, with a sprinkling of manure, or a couple of years rest, or by fallowing, will yield from fifteen to twenty fold. They cultivate, also, barley and pulse, but have few horses or cattle beyond what are necessary for the purposes of husbandry.

12. *Riebeck's Casteel*, or the Castle of Van Riebeck, may be considered as a prolongation of the Paardeberg, terminating to the northward in a high rocky summit. It took its name from the founder of the colony having travelled to this distance from the Cape, which is about sixty miles, and which, in that early period of the settlement, was as far as it was considered safe to proceed, on account of the numerous natives, whose race has now almost disappeared from the face of the earth. The produce is the same as that of the farms of the last division, in both of which there are as many loan-farms as freehold estates.

13, 14. *East Zwartland* and *Twenty-four Rivers*. These two divisions consist of wide extended plains, stretching, in width, from

from the Berg River to the great chain of mountains, and to the Picquet Berg, in length, to the northward. They are considered as the granaries of the colony. The crops, however, in Zwartland, are as uncertain as the rains, on which, indeed, their success almost entirely depends. In the Four-and-twenty Rivers the grounds are capable of being irrigated by the numberless streamlets that issue from the great chain of mountains, in their course to the Berg River. Many of these, in their progress over the plain, form large tracts of swampy ground that have been found to produce very fine rice. Wheat, barley, and pulse are the principal articles that are cultivated in these two divisions, but they have plenty of fruit, and make a little wine for their own family use. Should the Bay of Saldanha, at any future period, become the general rendezvous of shipping, these two divisions will be more valuable than all the rest of the colony.

15. The *Picquet Berg* terminates the plains of the Four-and-twenty Rivers to the northward. Here, besides corn and fruit, the inhabitants rear horses, horned cattle, and sheep. And from hence, also, is sent to the Cape market a considerable quantity of tobacco, which has the reputation of being of the best quality that Southern Africa produces.

16. *Olifant's River* is a fine clear stream, flowing through a narrow valley, hemmed in between the great chain of mountains and an inferior ridge called the *Cardouw*. This valley, being intersected by numerous rills of water from the mountains on each side, is extremely rich and fertile; but the great

distance from the Cape, and the bad roads over the Cardouw, hold out little encouragement for the farmer to extend the cultivation of grain, fruit, or wine, beyond the necessary supply of his own family. Dried fruit is the principal article they send to market, after the supplies, which they furnish, of horses, horned cattle, and sheep. The country on each side of the lower part of the river is dry and barren, and for many miles from the mouth entirely uninhabited. A chalybeate spring of hot water, of the temperature of 108° of Fahrenheit's Scale, flows in a very considerable stream out of the Cardouw Mountain into the Olifant's River. And a bathing-house is erected over the spring.

All the smaller kinds of antelopes, jackalls, hares, and partridges, are very abundant in the four last-mentioned divisions.

These divisions of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, above enumerated, lie on the west or Cape side of the great chain of mountains, and comprehend the most valuable portion of the colony. The transmontane divisions of Stellenbosch are,

17. The *Biedouw*, which is the flanking side of the great mountains behind the Olifant's River, a cold, elevated, rugged tract of country, covered with coppice wood, and very thinly inhabited. The stock of the farmers consists of sheep and horned cattle.

18. *Onder Bokkeveld* is the elevated flat surface of a Table Mountain, whose sides on the west and north are high and almost

most perpendicular rocks, piled on each other in horizontal strata like those of Table Mountain at the Cape; but it descends with a gentle slope to the eastward, and terminates in Karroo plains. The grasses on the summit are short but sweet, and the small shrubby plants are excellent food for sheep and goats. The horses, also, of this division, are among the best which the colony produces, and the cattle, as is the case in all the mountainous situations, thrive very well. In some of the valleys, where the grounds will admit of irrigation, the common returns of wheat are forty, and of barley sixty, for one, without any rest for twenty years, without fallowing, and without manure. In such situations the soil is deeply tinged with iron, and abounds with masses of the same kind of iron-stone which I have already mentioned.

The *Spring-bok*, or the springing antelope, once so abundant in this division, as to have been the cause of its name, is now but an occasional visitor, and seen only in small herds of a few hundreds. *Steenboks* and *orbies* and *griesboks* are still plentiful and large. The *korbanes* or bustards, of three species, and hares are so plentiful that they were continually among the horses feet in riding over the country. On the Karroo plains, close behind the Bokkeveld, are found the two large species of antelope, the *eland* and the *gemsbok*, but their numbers are rapidly diminishing in consequence of the frequent excursions of the farmers on purpose to shoot them; not so much for the sake of their flesh, which, however, is excellent, but for their skins alone.

19. The *Hantam* is a Table Mountain, rising from the surface of the Bokkeveld Mountain, on its eastern extremity, and is surrounded by a number of farms that receive a supply of water from rills issuing out of the base of the mountain. Horses and cattle are the produce of the Hantam, and the former have been found to escape a very fatal disease that is prevalent over the whole colony, by being sent upon the summit of the Hantam Mountain. The inhabitants of this division are liable to the depredations of the Bosjesman's Hottentots, against whom they make regular expeditions in the same manner as from the Sneuwberg.

20. The *Khamies Berg* is a cluster of mountains situated in the middle of the country that formerly was inhabited by the Namaqua Hottentots, at the distance of five days' journey north-west from the Hantam, over a dry sandy desert almost destitute of water. This cluster of mountains being the best, and, indeed, almost the only habitable part of the Namaqua country, has been taken possession of by the wandering peasantry, who, to the advantage of a good grazing country, had the additional inducement of settling there from the easy means of increasing their stock of sheep from the herds of the native Hottentots, who, indeed, are now so reduced and scattered among the Dutch farms as scarcely to be considered as a distinct tribe of people.

The copper mountains commence where the Khamiesberg ends, the whole surface of which is said to be covered with malachite, or the carbonate of copper, and cupreous pyrites.

But the ores of these mountains, however abundant, and however rich, are of no great value on account of the total want of every kind of fuel to smelt them, as well as of their very great distance from the Cape, and from there being neither bay nor river where they could be put on board of coasting vessels. In the Khamiesberg is also found, in large blocks, that beautiful species of stone to which mineralogists have given the name of Prehnite.

21. *Upper, Middle, and Little Roggevelds*, or rye-grass countries, are the summit of a long extended Table Mountain, whose western front rises out of the Karroo plains behind the Bokkeveld, almost perpendicularly, to the height of two or three thousand feet. Stretching to the eastward this summit becomes more broken into inequalities of surface, and rises at length into the mountains of Nieuweld, the Camdeboo, and the Sneuwberg, which may be considered as one extended chain. The great elevation of the Roggeveld, and its being surrounded by Karroo plains, make the temperature in winter so cold, that for four months in the year the inhabitants are under the necessity of descending to the feet of the mountains with their horses, cattle, and sheep. The strongest and largest breed of horses in the whole colony is that of the Roggeveld.

22. *Nieuweld and the Gboup* are continuations of the Roggeveld Mountain, and join the divisions bearing the same name in the district of Graaf Reynet. They have lately been deserted on account of the number of Bosjesman Hottentots dwelling close behind them.

23, 24. *Warm and Cold Bokkeveld* and *Hex River*, are a chain of valleys lying close behind the great mountains, consisting of meadow-land abundantly supplied with water, and appear as if they had once been lakes. They are thinly inhabited, and every kind of cultivation almost totally neglected.

25. *Breede River* is to the southward of the *Hex River*, and extends to the borders of the *Zwellendam* district. It is productive in corn, and the part called *Bosjesveld*, or the heathy country, is favourable for sheep and cattle.

26. *Ghoudinie* and *Brandt Valley* are two small valleys close behind the *Fransche Hoeck*, extremely rich, and well watered. Through the *Brandt Valley* runs a stream of hot water, whose temperature at the spring is 150° of Fahrenheit's Scale. With this stream several thousand acres of meadow-ground are capable of being flooded.

27. *Roode Sand* or *Waveren* is an extensive division behind the mountains of *Drakenstein*, and produces abundance of grain, pulse, fruits, and wine. The pass of *Roode Sand* is the only waggon-road into this division, and is distant from *Cape Town* about seventy miles. In this division there is a small neat church, and a very comfortable parsonage-house, with extensive vineyards, orchards, garden, and arable land; and contiguous to the church is a row of houses, the number of which has lately increased.

28, 29, 30, 31. *Bott River, Zwarte Berg, Drooge Ruggens,* and *River Zonder End* are interposed between Hottentot Hollands Kloof and the borders of Zwellendam; the chief produce of which is corn and cattle, with a small quantity of wine of an inferior quality, cultivated chiefly for the supply of the more distant parts of the colony.

32, 33. *Uyl Kraal* and *Soetendal's Valley* are two divisions stretching along the sea-coast from Hanglip, the east point of Bay False, to the mouth of the Breede River, beyond Cape L'Aguillas, comprehending excellent corn-lands and good grazing ground for horses. The smaller kinds of antelopes are very abundant, as are also hares, partridges, and bustards; and towards the Cape L'Aguillas are a few *Zebras, Hartebeests,* and *Bonteboks.*

The greater part of this extensive district, beyond the mountains, consists of loan-farms, as that on the Cape side is chiefly composed of freehold estates. The population and produce were ascertained from the Opgaaff list being taken on oath in the year 1798, and were as follows:

Population.

Men	1970
Women	1199
Sons	1845
Daughters	1818
Servants and people of colour	424

Carried over Christians. 7256

Brought over	7256
Slave men	7211
Slave women	3411
Slaves and people of colour	81
Slaves	10,703
To these may be added, Hottentots in the white district, about	
	5000
Total population of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein	22,959

<i>Stock and Produce.</i>	
Horses	22,661
Horned cattle	59,567
Sheep	451,695
Wine plants	11,500,000
Leggers of wine in 1797	7914
Muids of corn	77,063
— of barley	32,872
— of rye	2053

Quantity of land under cultivation in vineyards and grain,
19,573 morgen, or 39,146 English acres.

DISTRICT OF ZWELLENDAM.

The district of Zwellendam is that tract of country which lies upon the sea-coast between the Breede River on the west,

and Camtoos River on the east, and extends northerly to the second chain of mountains called the Zwarte Berg or Black Mountains. Its length is about 380, and breadth 60, miles, comprehending an area of 19,200 square miles, which is occupied by 480 families, so that each family, on an average, has forty square miles of land. This is more than four times the quantity assigned to each loan-farm by the Government. Except in the drofdy the whole district is composed of loan-lands, and may be considered to consist of the following divisions:

1. The *Drofdy* or *Village of Zwellendam*.
2. The *Country between the Drofdy and Gauritz River*, named according to the rivers that cross it.
3. *Cango*.
4. *Zwarte Berg*.
5. *Trada*.
6. *Moffel Bay*.
7. *Autiniequas Land*.
8. *Plettenberg's Bay*.
9. *Olifant's River*.
10. *Kamnaasie*.
11. *Lange Kloof*.
12. *Sitsikamma*.

1. The *Drofdy of Zwellendam* is situated at the foot of the first chain of mountains that runs east and west or parallel to the sea-coast, and is distant from Cape Town about one hundred and forty miles. It is composed of about thirty houses, scat-

tered irregularly over a small but fertile valley, down the middle of which runs a plentiful stream of water. At the head of the valley stands the house of the Landroft, to which is annexed a large garden well stocked with a variety of fruits, and a spacious vineyard; the whole enclosed and planted with oaks and other trees. In the middle of the village a large church has lately been erected, which is the only place of worship in the whole district.

2. This division comprehends the whole tract of country that lies between the Gauritz River and the drofdy, and is well watered by a number of streams issuing from the mountains, upon the banks of which the farm-houses in general are placed. The produce of these is corn, wine, and cattle, but few sheep; the whole district of Zwellendam being unfavourable to this animal, except the three following divisions.

3, 4, 5. *Cango, Zwarte Berg, and Trada*, are Karroo plains, situated between the first and second chains of mountains, but being well watered by the mountain streams, contain fertile patches of ground. The great distance, however, from the Cape, and the excessive bad roads, operate against an extensive tillage. On these plains are an abundance of ostriches, herds of *Quachas, Zebras, and Hartebeests*. Behind the first chain of mountains, in these divisions, are two hot springs of chalybeate water.

6. *Moffel Bay* division, sometimes called the *Droogeveldt*, or Dry Country, extends from the Gauritz River to the Great

Brakke

Brakke River that falls into Mossel Bay. The surface is hilly and composed of a light sandy soil, which, when the rains are favourable, is sufficiently fertile in corn. The only natural product in the vegetable kingdom, that is useful as an article of commerce, is the aloe, but the heathy plants along the sea-shore are more favourable for sheep than in the other parts of this division. The shores of the bay and the sea-coast abound with excellent oysters; and muscles are equally plentiful, but they are very large, and of a strong flavour; and the mouths of all the rivers contain plenty of good fish. The bay itself has already been described.

7. *Autiniequas Land* is the next division to Mossel Bay along the sea-coast, and extends as far eastward as the Kayman's River. The Dutch Government reserved to itself about twenty thousand acres, which is nearly half the division, of the finest land, without exception, in the whole colony, being a level meadow always covered with grass. The mountains approaching near the sea, and being covered with large forest trees, attract the vapours and cause a considerable quantity of rain to fall in the Autiniequas Land in the summer months. The overseer calculated that the land held by Government in this division was fully sufficient for the maintenance of a thousand horses, a thousand head of cattle, and for raising annually ten thousand muids of corn.

8. *Plettenberg's Bay* division begins at the Kayman's River, and continues to the inaccessible forests of Sitfikamma. The whole

whole of this tract of country is extremely beautiful, agreeably diversified by hill and dale, and lofty forests. Within seven miles of the bay are large timber trees, and the surface is almost as level as a bowling-green, over which the several roads are carried. The peasantry, who inhabit this district, are mostly wood-cutters, and they earn a very hard subsistence. The great distance from the Cape, being 400 miles of bad road, leaves them little profit on a load of timber, when sold at the dearest rate in the Cape market, so little, indeed, that they prefer to dispose of it at the bay for a mere trifle. Plank of thirteen or fourteen inches wide, and inch thick, may be purchased on the spot at the rate of threepence the foot in length.

The bark of several of the creeping plants in the forests might be employed as substitutes for hemp. The iron ores near the base of the mountains might be worked by clearing the wood, of which there is an inexhaustible supply. The timber is, undoubtedly, suitable for many purposes, notwithstanding the prejudices that have been entertained against it very undeservedly, and very ignorantly, because about one-eighth part only of the different kinds have ever undergone a trial, and these few by no means a decisive one. The climate is trying for the best timber; and English oak even gives way much sooner here than in its native country, by the alternate exposure to wet weather, dry winds, and scorching sun. Where such exposure has been guarded against, one of the lightest Cape woods, the geelhout or yellow wood, has been known to stand a hundred years without shewing symptoms of decay.

The

The native trees of the Cape are many of them of quick growth, and advance to a large size, but they are much twisted and shaken by the wind, and generally hollow at heart. Many, however, are perfectly sound, and every way suitable for baulk, rafters, joists, and plank, but, I again repeat it, they have never yet met with a fair trial. The bay has already been noticed, as has also the Knysna, which is in this district, and closer to the forests than even the bay itself.

9. *Olifant's River* runs at the foot of the second chain of mountains or the Zwarteberg to the westward, and falls into the Gauritz River. The soil is Karroo, and strongly tinged with iron, and as in some places there is plenty of water, vegetation here is remarkably luxuriant. At each extremity of this division are hot springs of chalybeate water, the temperature from 98° to 110° of Fahrenheit's scale. The inhabitants cultivate the vine for home consumption, and distil from peaches, as well as from grapes, an ardent spirit. But the articles brought to the Cape market are chiefly butter and soap. The *salsola* grows here much more luxuriantly than I have seen it in any other part of the colony. The *mimosa Karroo* grows also along the valley, through which the river flows, to a very large size, and produces a great quantity of gum-arabic; the bark too is superior to that of oak for tanning leather. Small antelopes and hares are sufficiently plentiful, and the beautiful *koodoo* is sometimes shot among the groves of mimosas. Leopards, tyger cats, and different species of the *viverra* genus, as also the river otter, are not uncommon along the wooded banks of the Olifant or Elephants' River.

10. *Kamnaasie* is a rough hilly tract of country surrounding a high mountain so called, situate between the Olifant's River and the Kange Kloof. The inhabitants are comparatively poor and few.

11. *Lange Kloof* is the long pass which has been particularly noticed in the second chapter.

12. *Sitsikamma* commences at Plettenberg's Bay, and continues along the sea-coast to the Camtoos River. It is chiefly covered with impenetrable forests, on the east of which, however, there are extensive plains equally good for the cultivation of grain and the grazing of cattle. No direct road has yet been made through the forests along the sea-coast, so as to be passable by waggons, but the inhabitants are obliged to go round by the Lange Kloof. They bring little to the Cape market on their annual visit, except salted butter and soap. In the forests of *Sitsikamma* are elephants, buffaloes, and rhinoceroses; and on the plains the large *hartebeest* and *koodoo* antelopes, besides an abundance of small game.

The population and produce of Zwellendam, as ascertained by the Opgaaff, taken on oath in the year 1798, are as follows:

Population.

Population.

Men	1070
Women	639
Sons	971
Daughters	987
Servants and free people of colour	300
Christians	3967
Men slaves	2196
Women slaves	
Slave children	
Hottentots in the service of the peasantry, on a calculation	500
Slaves and Hottentots	2696
Total population of Zwellendam	6663

Stock and Produce.

Horses	9,049
Horned cattle	52,376
Sheep	154,992
Leggers of wine made	220½
Muids of wheat reaped in 1797	16,720
— of barley	10,554
— of rye	

DISTRICT OF GRAAF REYNET.

The district of Graaf Reynet extends to the eastern extremity of the colony. The Great Fish River, the Tarka, the Bambofberg, and the Zuureberg divide them from the Kaffers on the east; the Camtoos River, the Gamka or Lions' River, and Nieuwveld Mountains, from the districts of Zwellendam and Stellenbosch on the west; Plettenberg Landmark, the Great Table Mountain, and the Karreeberg from the Bosjesman Hottentots on the north; and it is terminated by the sea-coast on the south. The mean length and breadth of this district may be about 250 by 160 miles, making an area of 40,000 square miles, which is peopled by about 700 families; consequently each family may command 57 square miles of ground, which is more than six times the quantity regulated by Government. Great part, however, has been occasionally abandoned on account of incursions made both by the Kaffers and Bosjesmans. The inhabitants, indeed, are a sort of Nomades, and would long before this have penetrated with their flocks and herds far beyond the present boundaries of the colony, had they not met with a bold and spirited race of people in the Kaffers, who resisted and effectually repelled their encroachments on that side. Their persecution of the Hottentots in their employ has at length roused this people, also, to make an effort for their former independence. Should they succeed, and it is their own fault if they do not, for it appears they are superior in point of numbers, and much so in courage, the whole or the greatest part of the district of Graaf Reynet must, in consequence, be abandoned by the Dutch African peasantry.

The

The boors of this district are entirely graziers; few attempting to put a plough or a spade into the ground, except in Zwart Kop's Bay, or in some parts of the Sneuwberg, preferring a life of complete indolence and a diet of animal food to the comfort of procuring a supply of daily bread, and a few vegetables, by a very trifling degree of exertion. In Sneuwberg, indeed, the depredations of the locusts are discouraging to the cultivator, as the odds are great he reaps nothing, while this devouring insect remains in the country. About the drofdy, also, they cultivate a little grain, which they exchange with the grazier for sheep and cattle.

The district of Graaf Reynet is entirely composed of loan-farms, and it is divided as follows:

1. The *Drofdy*.
2. *Sneuwberg*, consisting of three parts.
3. *Swagers Hoeck*.
4. *Bruyntjes Hoogte*.
5. *Camdeboo*.
6. *Zwarte Ruggens*.
7. *Zwarte Kop's River*.
8. *Zuure Veldt*.
9. *Bosjesman's River*.
10. *Tarka*.
11. *Sea-cow River and Rhinoscerosberg*.
12. *Zwarte Berg*.
13. *Nieuwveld and the Ghowp*.

1. The *Drostdy*, or residence of the Landroft, is a small village in the centre of the district, and rather more than 500 miles from Cape Town. It consists in about a dozen mud-houses covered with thatch. That of the Landroft is of the same description, to which is annexed a garden and vineyard; but the grapes here seldom come to perfection, on account of the cold blasts from the Snowy Mountains, at the feet of which the village is situated. The land is red Karroo, and uncommonly fertile where the Sunday River can be brought to flood it. I observed here seventy distinct stems from one single grain of corn.

Under the idea of civilizing the rude boors of this district, Lord Macartney made suitable provision for a clergyman, and the foundation was laid for a large church. Long, however, before the outer walls were built, they thought fit to expel the clergyman that had been sent down to them; and the building was only just finished when the English evacuated the place.

2. *Voor*, *Middle*, and *Agter Sneeuwberg*, the fore, middle, and posterior Snowy mountains may be considered as the grand nursery of sheep and horned cattle, particularly of the former. Of these many families are in possession of flocks from two to five thousand. Between the people of these divisions and the Bosjesman Hottentots there is a perpetual warfare, which is imprudently fomented by the former making prisoners for life of the children they take from the latter.

In no part of the colony are such immense flocks of the *springbok* as in the divisions of the Snowy Mountains. Five thousand in one group are considered only as a moderate quantity, ten, twelve, or fifteen thousand being sometimes found assembled together, especially when they are about to migrate to some other part of the country. The *bontebok*, the *eland*, the *bartebeest*, and the *gemsbok* are also plentiful, and small game in vast numbers. On the banks of the Fish River are two wells of hepatized water, of the temperature of 88° of Fahrenheit's scale. They are considered to be efficacious in healing sprains and bruises, and favourable to rheumatic complaints, to which the great changeableness of the climate renders the inhabitants subject. In several of the mountains of this division are also found, adhering to the sandstone rocks, large plates of native nitre, from half an inch to an inch in thickness, but not in quantities sufficient to make it an object of attention as an article of commerce.

3. *Swaager's Hoeck* is a small division within the mountains at the head of Bruyntjes Hoogté, tolerably well watered and fertile in grain, which, however, is very sparingly cultivated.

4. *Bruyntjes Hoogté* lies upon the banks of the Great Fish River, and is considered as the best division in the whole district for horses and horned cattle, and equally suitable for the cultivation of grain and fruits; but the enormous distance from any market holds out no encouragement to the farmer to sow more grain than is necessary for family use, and many of them take

not the trouble of sowing any. The *bosch bok* and pigmy antelope are common in this district; and buffaloes and rhinoceroses haunt the thickets upon the banks of the Great Fish River.

All the disturbances of Graaf Reynet have originated in this division. Its proximity to the Kaffers held out an irresistible temptation to the boors to wage war against them for the sake of plundering them of their cattle; yet none of the boors are in better circumstances than those of Bruyntjes Hoogté. The very man who was most active in promoting a Kaffer war, according to his *Opguaff*, had between 800 and 900 head of cattle, and more than 8000 sheep, all of which, in their late disturbances with the Kaffers, he very deservedly lost.

5. *Camdeboo* extends along the feet of the Snowy Mountains, from the drosdy to Bruyntjes Hoogté, and is chiefly composed of Karroo plains, which, however, are extremely fertile in the chasms down which the streams of the mountains constantly flow. The oxen are large and strong, and the sheep little inferior to those of the Snowy Mountains. The beautiful animal the *gnoo* is frequently seen bounding over the plains of *Camdeboo*, and *springboks* and *hartebeests* are very plentiful.

6. *Zwarte Ruggens* is a rough stoney tract of country to the southward of *Camdeboo*, very scantily supplied with water, and producing little except succulent plants, among which are two or three species of *euphorbia*. Few families are found in this division,

division, but here and there in the neighbourhood of the Sunday River, which runs through it. The cattle and sheep are small, but generally in good condition, notwithstanding the apparent scarcity, I might almost say total absence, of grass.

7. *Zwarte Kop's River* is a fertile and extensive division, lying to the southward of the *Zwarte Ruggens*, and is capable of producing an abundant supply of grain, convenient to be delivered at a trifling expence at the bay, which we have already had occasion to notice. About fifteen miles to the westward of the bay are large forests of timber trees, near which there is every appearance of a rich mine of lead, as I particularly noticed in the former volume. I had occasion also to speak of the salt lake near the bay, and the plentiful supply of that article which it produces. Wax from the *myrica cerifera* and aloes might be furnished by this division as articles of commerce.

8. *Zuure Veldt* is an extensive plain country stretching from the Sunday River in *Zwart Kop's Bay* to the Great Fish River, and is the same kind of good arable or pasture land as the plains of the *Autiniquas* division in *Zwellendam*, but it is now exclusively in the possession of the Kaffers, from whom, indeed, it was originally taken forcibly by the boors. The great chasms towards the sea-coast, that are filled with thickets, abound in elephants and buffaloes; and in the Great Fish River are occasionally, at least, a few of the hippopotamus or river horse.

9. *Brs-*

9. *Bosjesman's River* joins the *Zuure Veld* to the northward, and is a dry hilly country without any verdure, except in the hollows. It is thinly inhabited.

10. The *Tarka* is a small division at the north-eastern extremity of the colony, almost entirely deserted on account of its proximity to several hordes of *Bosjesman* Hottentots. It was in the mountains that terminate this division that I found the drawing of the unicorn on the caverns. The *bontebok*, the *eland*, and the *gnoo* are common in the *Tarka*.

11. *Sea-cow River* and *Rhinoscerosberg* lie to the northward of the *Snowy Mountains*, and consist of detached hills rising out of extensive plains, and are well covered with grass. All kinds of game are particularly abundant in these divisions, and there is scarcely a species of antelope within the limits of the colony that may not be met with here. The inhabitants are in a state of perpetual warfare with the *Bosjesmans*, and are frequently obliged to desert this part of the country.

12. *Zwarte Berg* is a portion of the mountain of the same name in the district of *Zwellendam*, to which, indeed, this also ought properly to belong. Sheep and horned cattle are the chief produce of the farmers.

13. *Nieuwveldt* and the *Ghowp* are also portions of the mountains of the same names, in the *Stellenbosch* district, and extend from thence to the *Sneuwberg*. They are occasionally deserted on account of the incursions of the *Bosjesman* Hottentots.

The

The Opgaaff list taken on oath at the droefdy of Graaf Reynet, in the year 1798, was as follows:

Population.

Men	-	-	-	940
Women	-	-	-	689
Sons	-	-	-	1170
Daughters	-	-	-	1138
Servants, school-masters with their families	-	-	-	189
Persons of colour and their families	-	-	-	136
				Christians 4262
Men slaves	-	-	-	445
Women slaves	-	-	-	330
Slave children	-	-	-	189
				Slaves 964
Hottentots in the whole district (taken in the Opgaaff)	-	-	-	8947
Total population of Graaf Reynet				14,173

Stock and Produce.

Horses	-	-	-	7,392
Horned cattle	-	-	-	118,306
Sheep	-	-	-	780,274

Leggers of wine made	-	-	187 $\frac{5}{8}$
Muids of wheat reaped 1797	-	-	11,283 $\frac{1}{2}$
— of barley	-	-	5,193 $\frac{1}{4}$

TOTAL AMOUNT of the Opgaaff Lists of the four Districts, being the exact State of the *Population, Stock, and Produce* of the whole Colony (the British Army and Navy, and British Settlers not included) in the Year 1798.

Population.	Cape.	Zwellendam.	Stellenbosch.	Graaf Reynet.	Totals.
Christians	6261	3967	7256	4262	21,746
Slaves	11,891	2196	10,703	964	25,754
Hottentots		500	5000	8947	14,447
Total	18,152	6663	22,959	14,173	61,947
Stock and produce					
Horses	8334	9049	22,661	7392	47,436
Heads of cattle	20,957	52,376	59,567	118,306	251,206
Sheep	61,575	154,992	451,695	780,274	1,448,536
Hogs	758				758
Wine plants	1,560,109		11,500,000		13,060,109
Leggers of wine	786 $\frac{1}{2}$	220 $\frac{1}{2}$	7914	187 $\frac{5}{8}$	9108 $\frac{5}{8}$
Muids of wheat	32,962	16,720	77,063	11,283 $\frac{1}{2}$	138,028 $\frac{1}{2}$
— of barley	18,819	10,554	32,872	5193 $\frac{1}{4}$	67,438 $\frac{1}{4}$
— of rye	529		2053		2582

TENURES OF LANDS.

The Dutch Government having obtained a tract of country from the Hottentots, at first by purchase and extended afterwards by force, made grants of land to the settlers on the four following tenures:

1. *Loan*

1. *Loan lands.*

2. *Gratuity lands.*

3. *Quit rents.*

4. *Freeholds.*

1. The most ancient tenure is that of Loan lands. These were grants, made to the original settlers, of certain portions of land to be held on yearly leases, on condition of paying to Government an annual rent of twenty-four rix dollars. Every farm was to consist of the same quantity, and be subject to the same rent, without any regard being paid to the quality of the land. And though the lease was made out for one year only, yet the payment of the rent was considered as a renewal; so that the tenure amounted, in fact, to a lease held in perpetuity. And the buildings erected on it, together with the vineyards and fruit groves planted, called the *upstals*, were saleable like any other property, and the lease continued to the purchaser.

When application was intended to be made for the grant of a leasehold farm, the person applying stuck down a stake at the place where the house was meant to be erected. The overseer of the division was then called to examine that it did not encroach on the neighbouring farms, that is to say, that no part of any of the surrounding farms were within half an hour's walk of the stake; or, in other words, that a radius of about a mile and half, with the stake as a centre, swept a circle which did not intersect any part of the adjoining farms. In such case the overseer certified that the loan farm applied for was tenable, otherwise not. And as it generally happened that the site of

the house was determined by some spring or water-course, the stake was so placed that the circumference of the circle described left a space between the new, and some adjoining, farm of one, two, or more miles in diameter. This intermediate space, if less than three miles in diameter, was considered as not tenable, and, consequently, if any person (willing to pay the established rent for a smaller quantity of land than Government allowed) applied for such intermediate piece of ground, his application was sure to be rejected. Whether the Government had any design of dispersing the people by such an absurd system, under the idea of keeping them more easily in subjection, I can't pretend to say, but it thought proper to encourage the continuance of the system, which is in full force to this moment.

The disputes about these stakes or *baakens*, as they call them, are endless; and partly through accident, but frequently by design, the stakes are so placed that, on an average throughout the whole colony, the farms are at twice the distance, and consequently contain four times the quantity of land allowed by Government.

The number of these loan farms registered in the office of the receiver of the land revenue, on closing the books in 1798, were,

In the the district of the Cape	-	110
— Stellenbosch and Drakenstein	-	689
Carried forward		799

	Brought forward	799
In Zwellendam	- -	541
— Graaf Reynet	- -	492
		—
	Total	1832
		—

Supposing each farm to consist only of the usual allowance, or a square of three miles the side, the quantity of land in all the loan farms will amount to 10,552,320 acres; and the annual rent they produce is about 44,000 rix-dollars, which is at the rate of about eight-tenths of a farthing an acre. Yet, moderate as these rents are, the Dutch Government could not prevent their running in arrears, the amount of which, at the capture, was upwards of 200,000 rix dollars. From the payment of this arrear they were excused by the British Government. Yet, nevertheless, they pay the small rent reserved so unwillingly and irregularly, that new arrears are every day accruing.

2. Gratiuity lands are such as were originally granted in loan, but, on petition of the holders, in consequence of some supposed services done to Government, have been converted into a sort of customary copyhold liable to a certain rent, which, like the loan-lands, is continued at 24 rix dollars a-year. Such estates, except a few in Zwellendam, are at no great distance from the Cape, and, in general, are in a better state of cultivation than the loan farms. Their number, as registered in the Land Revenue Office, are,

In

In the district of the Cape	43
— Stellenbosch and Drakenstein	46
— Zwellendam	18
Total	107

3. The quit-rents arise from pieces of waste ground which, from their contiguity or convenience to an estate, have been allowed by Government to be occupied by the owners of such estates upon a lease of fifteen years, on condition of their paying an annual rent of one shilling an acre. Before the expiration of the lease a prolongation of the term for another fifteen years is petitioned, and the renewal seems now to have become a matter of course. Of such grants there are,

In the Cape district	25
— Stellenbosch and Drakenstein	10
Total	35

4. Real estates held in fee-simple and subject to no rent are chiefly situated in the Cape district or its vicinity. These are the choicest patches of land, and have originally been sold or granted to the early settlers in parcels of about 60 morgen, or 120 English acres. It is natural to suppose that lands held in fee-simple should be in a higher state of improvement than those held

held by any other tenure, and so, in fact, they are, though by no means brought to that degree which might be expected. A Cape farmer has no idea of bestowing much labour or employing his capital in the prospect of a distant profit. He is unwilling to plant trees, because he may not live to reap the benefit of them. Yet, in this climate, there is no great interval of time between dropping the seed into the ground and the growth of the tree. The oak, the stone-pine, the poplar, and the native silver tree are all of quick vegetation. One *Van Reenen*, a brewer at the foot of the Table Mountain, on the east side, planted a wood of the silver tree twelve years ago, on waste ground, from which he now supplies the town and garrison with fuel; and for which he refused the offer of between three and four thousand pounds as it stood on the spot.

Estates in the Cape remain but a short time in the same family. Their descent is seldom settled, as by the laws of the colony all the children are entitled to equal shares of the property at the death of the parents. The advantages to which primogeniture in some countries entitles, are here entirely unknown. Superior in point of equity, as such a rule must be acknowledged, the consequence of it is an indifference to all improvement of estates beyond what will be productive of immediate profit. The proprietor endeavours to enrich himself by lending out money, increasing his stock of slaves, of cattle, and furniture, or by purchasing other estates, but he rarely thinks of improving them. He is little ambitious of leaving a name behind him, or of settling any branch of his family upon the same spot that raised him to independence and affluence. Old

Cloete,

Cloete, the late proprietor of Constantia, forms a solitary exception from this remark. Having raised himself from the situation of trumpeter to a regiment into affluence, his whole attention was directed to the improvement of his estates, which he divided among his children. His favourite Constantia he left to the son who bore his own name, and it is provided, in his will, that this estate shall descend directly in the male line to him who bears his christian name, or collaterally to the nearest of kin to his own christian name and a *Cloete*. The consequence of which is, that Constantia is the most improving estate in the colony.

There are, perhaps, few countries where property so frequently changes hands as at the Cape of Good Hope. Not only do estates go out of a family at the death of the parents, when they are sure to be sold in order to make a division of the property among the children, but there seems to be an universal propensity to buy, sell, and exchange. Of this the Government has taken the advantage, and imposed a duty of four per cent. on all immovable property that is transferred from one person to another. Two-thirds of the property, disposed of at the Cape, is by public auction, on which the vendue master charges two per cent., $1\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. for Government, and $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. for himself; so that the duty on transferring an estate amounts to 6 per cent. upon the value. In fifteen sales, therefore, by adding the expence of stamps and writings, Government runs away with the whole capital; and I have been informed, there are instances, within the memory of many persons, of estates being sold this number of times. I, myself, purchased a small estate that, within the last eight years, has changed hands six

I

times;

times; paying thrice a duty to Government of 6 per cent. and thrice of 4 per cent., making a tax of 30 per cent. on the value of the property. It may be observed, that this rage for buying and selling makes the transfer and the public vendue duties two of the most productive branches of the public revenue.

CONDITION OF THE INHABITANTS.

If the condition of mankind was to be estimated entirely by the means it possessed of supplying an abundance, or preventing a scarcity, of the necessary articles of life, and it must be confessed they constitute a very essential part of its comforts, the European colonists of the Cape of Good Hope might be pronounced amongst the happiest of men. But as all the pleasures of this world are attended with evils, like roses placed on stems that are surrounded with thorns, so these people, in the midst of plenty unknown in other countries, can scarcely be considered as objects of envy. Debarred from every mental pleasure arising from the perusal of books or the frequent conversation of friends, each succeeding day is a repetition of the past, whose irksome sameness is varied only by the accidental call of a traveller, the less welcome visits of the Bosjesmans, or the terror of being put to death by their own slaves, or the Hottentots in their employ. The only counterpoise to this wearisome and miserable state of existence, is a superfluity of the necessities of life, as far as regards the support of the animal functions, which all, of every description among the colonists,

have the means of acquiring with little exertion either of body or mind.

A short sketch of the circumstances and resources of the several classes of the colonists will be sufficient to convey a general idea of their respective conditions. The 22,000 Christian inhabitants that compose the population of this colony may be reduced into four classes.

1. *People of the town.*

2. *Vine-growers.*

3. *Grain-farmers.*

4. *Graziers.*

1. The people of the town we have already observed to be an idle dissolute race of men, subsisting chiefly by the labour of their slaves. In order to derive a fixed income and to avoid any trouble, they require each slave to bring them a certain sum at the end of every week; all that he can earn above this sum is for himself, and many are industrious enough to raise as much money in a few years as is sufficient to purchase their freedom, and sometimes that of their children. The price of provisions and the price of labour bear no sort of proportion. Butcher's meat is only about twopence a pound, and good brown bread, such as all the slaves eat, one penny a pound. A common labouring slave gets from two shillings to half a crown a day, and a mechanic or artificer five and six shillings a day. The people of Cape Town are almost all of them petty dealers, and they have a remarkable propensity for public vendues. Not a day

a day passes without several of these being held both before and after dinner. And it is no uncommon thing to see the same identical articles exposed at two different sales the same day. In fact, a vendue is a kind of lottery. A man buys a set of goods in the morning, which he again exposes to sale in the evening, sometimes gaining and sometimes losing. Yet all moveable property, on sale by public auction, is liable to a duty of 5 per cent., $3\frac{1}{2}$ of which the auctioneer is accountable for to Government; the remainder is for himself. I cannot give a stronger instance of the rage for vendues than by observing that in four successive months of the year 1801, the amount of property sold by public auction was 1,500,000 rix dollars, a sum equal to the whole quantity of paper money in circulation, which, indeed, may be considered as the only money, of late years, that has circulated in the country. In what manner, therefore, these articles were to be paid for is a sort of mystery, which, however, the declining state of the colony may before this have explained.

The better sort of people are those who are employed in the different departments of Government, but their salaries were so small that most of them were petty merchants. Others have estates in the country and derive a revenue from their produce. Others again are a sort of agents for the country boors, and keep houses to lodge them when they make their annual visit to the town. These are a kind of Jew brokers, who live entirely by defrauding the simple boors in disposing of their produce, and purchasing for them necessaries in return. A boor in the Cape can do nothing for himself. Unaccustomed to any

society but those of his family and his Hottentots, he is the most awkward and helpless being on earth, when he gets into Cape Town, and neither buys nor sells but through his agent. The emancipated slaves and people of colour are generally artificers; many of them support their families by fishing. During the whole year there is great plenty and variety of fish caught in Table Bay, and cheap enough for the very poorest to make a daily use of.

House-rent, fuel, and clothing are all dear; yet, I will be bold to say, there is no town nor city in all Europe, where the mass of the people are better lodged or better clothed; and fire is less necessary here than in most parts of Europe. The keep of a horse in Cape Town was never less, under the English Government, than 25*l.* sterling a year, yet every butcher, baker, petty shopkeeper, and artificer, had his team of four, six, or eight horses and his chaise. It is true, his horses were lent out for hire one day, and drew himself and his family another; but still it seemed inexplicable how they contrived to keep up an establishment so much beyond their apparent means. Their creditors, I imagine, long before this, will best be able to give a satisfactory explanation, since British money has ceased to circulate among them.

It is true they are neither burthened with taxes nor assessments. Except on public vendues and transfer of immoveable property, Government has been remarkably tender in imposing on them burthens, which, however, they might very well afford to bear. Their parochial assessments are equally moderate. At

the first establishment of the colony a kind of capitation tax was levied under the name of *Lion and Tyger money*. The fund so raised was applied to the encouragement of destroying beasts of prey, of which these two were considered as the most formidable. But as lions and tygers have long been as scarce in the neighbourhood of the Cape, as wolves are in England, the name of the assessment has been changed, though the assessment itself remains, and is applied to the repairs of the roads, streets, water-courses, and other public works. The sum to be raised is fixed by the police, and the quota assigned to each is proportioned to the circumstances of the individual; the limits of the assessment being from half a crown to forty shillings. The persons liable must be burghers, or such as are above sixteen years of age, and enrolled among the burgher inhabitants. The ordinary amount is fixed at about 5000 rix dollars a year.

Another assessment to which heads of families are liable is called *Chimney and Hearth money*. This is, properly speaking, a house tax, fixed at the rate of eighteenpence a month, or 4½ rix dollars a year, for every house or fire-place. This should seem to be an unfair assessment, as the richest and the poorest inhabitant, the man with a large house and he who possesses only a cottage, are liable to the same contribution; as it is presumed that every house has its kitchen fire-place and no other. The amount of this assessment is about 5200 rix dollars, which, at the above rate, corresponds very nearly with the number of houses in the town.

They

They are subject to no tythes nor church-rates whatsoever, towards the maintenance of the clergy; these being paid in the most liberal manner out of the treasury of Government. Nor is any demand made upon them for the support of the poor. The very few that, through age or infirmities, are unable to maintain themselves, are supported out of the superfluities of the church. Where the mere articles of eating and drinking are so reasonably procured as in the Cape, it is no great degree of charity for the rich to support their poor relations, and, accordingly, it is the common practice of the country. Those who come under the denomination of poor are, for the most part, emancipated slaves, who may not have the benefit of such relations. Nor does the church provide for such on uncertain grounds. Every person manumitting a slave must pay to the church fifty rix dollars or ten pounds, and at the same time give security that such slave shall not become burdensome to the church for a certain number of years.

The police of the Town is committed to the management of a board consisting of six burghers, called the Burgher Senate. The functions of this board are various and important, but they are performed in that careless and slovenly manner which is ever the case where men are compelled to accept an office to which there is annexed neither pay nor emolument. The only exception that I know of is in the situation of an English justice of peace. In every public employment of a permanent nature, like that of the Burgher Senate, if the emoluments are not such as to make it worth a man's while to keep his place, the odds
are

are great that the duties of it will be neglected. This was the rock upon which the Dutch, in all their East India settlements, split. The appointments of their servants were so small, that those who held them could not live without cheating their employers; and this was carried on to such an extent, as to become a common observation that, in proportion as the Company's finances were impoverished, their servants were enriched.

The business of the Burgher Senate consists in seeing that the streets be kept clean and in proper repair; that no nuisance be thrown into the public avenues leading to the town; that no encroachments be made on public property; that no disorderly houses be suffered to remain; no impositions practised on the public; no false weights nor measures used. They are authorized to regulate the prices of bread; to enquire from time to time into the state of the harvest; and to take precautions against a scarcity of corn. They are to devise measures and suggest plans to Government that may seem proper and effective for keeping up a constant succession of coppice wood for fuel in the Cape district. They are directed to take particular care that the tradesmen of the town, and more especially the smiths and cartwrights, impose not on the country boors in the prices of utensils necessary for carrying on the business of agriculture. They are to report such crimes, trespasses, and misdemeanors, as come within their knowledge, to the Fiscal, who is the Chief Magistrate of the police, and Attorney-General of the colony.

It would be in vain to expect that such various and important duties should be faithfully fulfilled for a number of years without

out any consideration of profit or hope of reward; or that every advantage would not be taken which the situation might offer. Some of the members of the Burgher Senate sent their old and infirm slaves to work at the public roads, and received for them the same wages as were paid to able-bodied men; others had teams of horses and waggons that never wanted employ. These things are trifling in themselves, but the public business suffered by it. When the English took the place, the streets were in so ruinous a condition as scarcely to be passable with safety. A small additional assessment was laid upon the inhabitants, and in the course of five years they had nearly completed a thorough repair of the streets to the great improvement of the town. If they should be induced to light the streets with lamps, it would not only add greatly to the embellishment of the town, but prevent a number of accidents that happen in the night time among the slaves. It would also tend to the encouragement of the whale fishery there. But the greatest of all improvements, and one easily to be accomplished, would be to conduct the water into the houses. The head of the spring, where it flows into the pipes which conduct it to the present fountains, is higher than the roof of the highest house in the town; yet, by a strange piece of ignorance or perverseness, they have carried it down to the lowest point on the plain leading to the castle, so that those who live at the upper end of the town have half a mile to fetch water, which is done by two slaves, who consume many hours in the day in this employ, and are a great annoyance at the public fountain, where they are quarrelling and fighting from morning till night.

The

The pleasures of the inhabitants are chiefly of the sensual kind, and those of eating, drinking, and smoking predominate; principally the two latter, which, without much intermission, occupy the whole day. They have no relish for public amusements. They have no exercise but that of dancing. A new theatre was erected, but plays were considered to be the most stupid of all entertainments, whether the performance was English, French, or German. To listen three hours to a conversation was of all punishments the most dreadful. I remember, on one occasion only, to have observed the audience highly entertained; this was at an old German soldier smoking his pipe; and the encouragement he met with in this part of his character was so great, and his exertions proportioned to it, that the whole house was presently in a cloud of tobacco smoke.

There is neither a bookseller's shop in the whole town, nor a book society. A club called the *Concordia* has lately aspired to a collection of books, but the pursuits of the principal part of the members are drinking, smoking, and gaming. Under the direction of the church is a library, which was left by an individual for the use of the public, but the public seldom trouble it. In this collection are some excellent books, particularly rare and valuable editions of the classics, books of travels and general history, acts of learned societies, dictionaries, and church history. Books are rarely found in Cape Town to constitute any part of the furniture of a house. So little value do they set on education, that neither Government nor the church, nor their combined efforts, by persuasion or extortion, could raise a

sum sufficient to establish a proper public school in the colony; and few of the natives are in circumstances to enable them to send their children for education to Europe. But those few who have had this advantage generally, on their return, relapse into the common habits of the colonists. I repeat, that if the measure of general prosperity was to be estimated according to the ease of procuring abundance of food, the people of the Cape may be considered as the most prosperous on earth, for there is not a beggar in the whole colony, and no example of any person suffering for want of the common necessities of life.

2. The wine growers, or as they are usually called at the Cape the wine boors, are a class of people who, to the blessings of plenty, add a sort of comfort which is unknown to the rest of the peasantry. They have not only the best houses and the most valuable estates, but, in general, their domestic economy is managed in a more comfortable manner than is usually found among the country farmers. Most of them are descendants of the French families who first introduced the vine. Their estates are mostly freehold, in extent about 120 English acres, and the greater part is employed in vineyards and garden grounds. Their corn they usually purchase for money or in exchange for wine. Their sheep also, for family use, they must purchase, though many of them hold loan farms on the other side of the mountains. The produce of their farms, however, is sufficient for keeping as many milk cows as are necessary for the family; and they have abundance of poultry. The season for bringing their

their wine to market is from September to the new vintage in March, but generally in the four concluding months of the year, after which their draught oxen are sent away either to their own farms or others in the country till they are again wanted. The deep sandy roads over the Cape isthmus require fourteen or sixteen oxen to draw two leggers of wine, whose weight is not $2\frac{1}{2}$ tons.

The tax upon their produce is confined to that part of it which is brought to the Cape market, and is at the rate of three rix dollars for every legger of wine, and the same sum for every legger of brandy that passes the barrier. All that is consumed at home, or sold in the country, is free of duty. Neither are they subject to any parochial taxes or assessments, except a small capitation tax towards the repair of the streets and avenues leading to the town, and the *Lion and Tyger* money for the exigences of the district. They are equally exempt, with the people of the town, from church and poor rates; the former being liberally provided for by Government, and the other description of people not being known in the country districts. The wine farmers take their pleasure to Cape Town, or make frequent excursions into the country, in their tent waggons drawn by a team of six or eight horses; an equipage from which the boor derives a vast consequence over his neighbour, who may only possess a waggon drawn by oxen.

The following rough sketch, which was given to me by one of the most respectable wine boors, of his outgoings and returns, will serve to shew the condition of this class of colonists.

Outgoings.

The first cost of his
estate was R.D. 15,000

15 Slaves a 300 Rd.
each - 4,500

80 Wine leggers a 12 960

Implements for pres-
sing, distilling, &c. 500

3 Team of oxen 500

2 Waggons - 800

Horse-waggon, and
team - 900

Furniture, utensils, &c. 2000

Amount 25,160 Interest 6 per cent. R.D. 1509 5

3 Sheep per week for family use, 156 per year, a 2½ Rd. 390 0

Clothing 15 slaves a 15 Rd. each per year - 225 0

Corn for bread 36 muids a 3 Rd. - 108 0

Tea, coffee, and sugar - 150 0

Clothing for the family and contingencies - 350 0

Duty at the barrier on 120 leggers of wine and brandy 360 0

Wear and tear 100 Rd. parochial assessments 20 120 0

Amount of outgoings carried over 3212 5

Amount

Amount of outgoings brought over R. D. 3212 5

Returns.

100 Leggers of wine brought to market a 30 3000

20 Ditto of brandy ditto a 50 - 1000

The wine and brandy sold to the country

boors, with the fruit and poultry brought

to the Cape market, are more than sufficient

to balance every other contingent and ex-

traordinary expence.

Amount of returns 4000 4000

Balance in favour of the farmer R. D. 787 3

or £. 157 8 3

which sum may be considered as a net annual profit, after every charge on the farm and on housekeeping has been defrayed.

The payment of an estate purchased is made easy to the purchaser. The customary conditions are to pay by three instalments, one-third ready money, one-third in one year, and the remaining third at the end of the second year; and the latter two-thirds bear no interest. And even the first instalment he can borrow of Government, through the loan bank, by giving the estate as a mortgage and two sufficient securities. So that

very large estates may be purchased at the Cape with very little money, which is the chief reason of the multiplicity of vendues.

3. The corn-boors live chiefly in the Cape district and those parts of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein that are not distant more than two or three days' journey from the Cape. Their farms are some freehold property, some gratuity land, but most of them loan farms. Many of these people are in good circumstances, and are considered in rank next to the wine-boor. The quantity of corn they bring to market is from a hundred to a thousand muids each, according to the quality of their farm, but more commonly to their skill and industry. They supply, also, the wine-boor and the grazier. The grain sold to these in the country is subject to no tax nor tythe; but a duty amounting not quite to one-tenth of the value is paid at the barrier for all grain passing towards Cape Town. Their parochial assessments are the same as those of the wine-boor.

The colonists of the Cape are miserable agriculturists, and may be said to owe their crops more to the native goodness of the soil and favourable climate, than to any exertions of skill or industry. Their plough is an unwieldy machine drawn by fourteen or sixteen oxen, just skims the surface, and, if the soil happens to be a little stiff, is as frequently out of the ground as in it; hence, in most of their corn fields, may be observed large patches of ten, fifteen, or twenty square yards without a stem of grain upon them. Such grounds, when sown and harrowed, are infinitely more rough than the roughest lea-ploughing in England. They have not the least idea of rolling the sandy
soils,

soils, which are sometimes so light as to be sown without ploughing. Sometimes, towards the end of the rainy season, they turn the ground and let it lie fallow till the next seed-time; but they rarely give themselves the trouble of manuring, except for barley.

For returns of corn in general they reckon upon fifteen fold; in choice places from twenty to thirty, and even much greater where they have the command of water. The grain is not thrashed, but trodden out in circular floors by cattle. The chaff and short straw of barley is preserved as fodder for their horses, and for sale; the rest of the straw is scattered about by the winds. They do not even give themselves the trouble of throwing it into the folds where their cattle are pent up by night, which would be the means of procuring them a very considerable supply of manure, and, at the same time, be of service to their cattle in cold winter nights.

The following rough statement will serve to shew the circumstances of an ordinary corn-boor of the Cape.

Outgoings.

The price of the opstal or buildings

on his loan farm - R. D. 7000

50 Oxen *a* 15 Rd. - 750

50 Cows *a* 8 Rd. - 400

12 Horses *a* 40 - 480

Carried over 8630

Brought over	R. D. 8630
6 Slaves at 300 Rd.	1800
2 Waggon	800
Furniture	1000
Implements of husbandry	500
	12,730
Interest	763 6
Clothing for slaves	90 0
Ditto for the family	150 0
Tea and sugar	100 0
Duty on corn brought to market	150
Parish taxes	20 170 0
Contingencies, wear and tear, &c.	150 0
Corn sold to the wine-boors and graziers more than sufficient to defray all other expences	

Amount of outgoings 1423 6

Returns.

300 Muirs of corn a 4 Rd.	R. D. 1200
100 Ditto of barley a 3 Rd.	300
6 Loads of chaff a 32 Rd.	192
1000 lbs. butter a 1½ Sk.	250
5 Horses sold annually a 40 Rd.	200

Amount of returns 2142 0

Balance in favour of the farmer R. D. 718 2

or £. 143 13

4. The

4. The graziers, properly so called, are those of Graaf Reynet and other distant parts of the colony. These are a class of men, of all the rest, the least advanced in civilization. Many of them, towards the borders of the settlement, are perfect Nomades, wander about from place to place without any fixed habitation, and live in straw-huts similar to those of the Hottentots. Those who are fixed to one or two places are little better with regard to the hovels in which they live. These have seldom more than two apartments, and frequently only one, in which the parents with six or eight children and the house Hottentots all sleep; their bedding consists generally of skins. Their hovels are variously constructed, sometimes the walls being mud or clay baked in the sun, sometimes fods and poles, and frequently a sort of wattling plaistered over with a mixture of earth and cow-dung, both within and without; and they are rudely covered with a thatch of reeds that is rarely water-proof.

Their clothing is very slight; the men wear generally a broad brimmed hat, a blue shirt, and leather pantaloons, no stockings, but a pair of dried skin shoes. The women have a thick quilted cap that ties with two broad flaps under the chin, and falls behind across the shoulders; and this is constantly worn in the hottest weather; a short jacket and a petticoat, no stockings, and frequently without shoes. The bed for the master and mistress of the family is an oblong frame of wood, supported on four feet, and reticulated with thongs of a bullock's hide, so as to support a kind of mattress made of skins sewed together, and sometimes stuffed with wool. In winter they use woollen blankets.

blankets. If they have a table it is generally of the boor's own making, but very often the large chest that is fitted across the end of their ox-waggon serves for this purpose. The bottoms of their chairs or stools are net-work of leather thongs. A large iron pot serves both to boil and to broil their meat. They use no linen for the table; no knives, forks, nor spoons. The boor carries in the pocket of his leather breeches a large knife, with which he carves for the rest of the family, and which stands him in as many and various services as the little dagger of Hudibras.

Their huts and their persons are equally dirty, and their whole appearance betrays an indolence of body, and a low groveling mind. Their most urgent wants are satisfied in the easiest possible manner; and for this end they employ means nearly as gross as the original natives, whom they affect so much to despise. If necessity did not sometimes set the invention to work, the Cape boor would feel no spur to assist himself in any thing; if the surface of the country was not covered with sharp pebbles, he would not even make for himself his skin-shoes. The women, as invariably happens in societies that are little advanced in civilization, are much greater drudges than the men, yet are far from being industrious; they make soap and candles, the former to send to Cape Town in exchange for tea and sugar, and the latter for home-consumption. But all the little trifling things, that a state of refinement so sensibly feels the want of, are readily dispensed with by the Cape boor. Thongs cut from skins serve, on all occasions, as a succedaneum for rope; and the tendons of wild animals divided into fibres are

are a substitute for thread. When I wanted ink, equal quantities of brown sugar and soot, moistened with a little water, were brought to me, and soot was substituted for a wafer.

To add to the uncleanness of their huts, the folds or *kraals* in which their cattle remain at nights are immediately fronting the door, and, except in the Sneeuwberg, where the total want of wood obliges them to burn dung cut out like peat, these *kraals* are never on any occasion cleaned out; so that in old established places they form mounds from ten to twenty feet high. The lambing season commences before the rains finish; and it sometimes happens that half a dozen or more of these little creatures, that have been lambed over night, are found smothered in the wet dung. The same thing happens to the young calves; yet, so indolent and helpless is the boor, that rather than yoke his team to his waggon and go to a little distance for wood to build a shed, he sees his stock destroyed from day to day and from year to year, without applying the remedy which common sense so clearly points out, and which requires neither much expence nor great exertions to accomplish.

If the Arcadian shepherds, who were certainly not so rich, were as uncomfortable in their cottages as the Cape boors, their poets must have been woefully led astray by the muse. But Pegasus was always fond of playing his gambols in the flowery regions of fancy. Without a fiction, the people of the Cape consider Graaf Reynet as the Arcadia of the colony.

Few of the distant boors have more than one slave, and many none; but the number of Hottentots amounts, on an average in Graaf Reynet, to thirteen to each family. The inhumanity with which they treat this nation I have already had occasion to notice*. The boor has few good traits in his character, but this

* In the second chapter of this work I have given an account of fifteen innocent Hottentots that were inhumanly butchered by the boors. A pamphlet has just been put into my hands which was published in the Cape by Baron de P., private Secretary to the Governor, and in which the same fact is noticed in the following words:—" Le Capitaine des Hottentots, nommé *Kouwinnoub* revetu des marques
 " distinctives de son grade militaire, par un baton orné d'une pomme d'airain où
 " les armes du Gouvernement étoient gravés dessus, muni de plus d'un pasport
 " signé par un des membres du Gouvernement, cherchoit avec quinze Hottentots
 " des feuilles de tabac dans les plaines de Sneuwberg; les payfans se rappelloient
 " peut-être que trois années passées, ces fidèles soldats avoient servis le Gouverne-
 " ment, pour les contraindre à l'obéissance, et que le moment étoit favorable
 " pour se venger de ses malheureux. Conduits par un *Veld-cornet*, nommé *Burgers*,
 " ils se faisirent de la troupe qui ne suspectoit aucun mal, et non obstant toutes les
 " preuves qui parloient pour eux on convint qu'ils étoient criminels, et qu'ils
 " falloit les traiter en conséquence; ainsi la *Cour de Justice rustique* resolut de les
 " attacher à un arbre, et les forcer par la torture à une confession de crimes, qu'ils
 " n'avoient eu aucune intention de commettre; les coups redoublés et les souff-
 " frances inhumaines auxquels ils opposoient les promesses s'ils vouloient avouer ce
 " qu'on leur demandoit, fit qu'on leur arracha la declaration malheureuse, qu'ils
 " étoient venus dans l'intention de piller les campagnes avoisines des colons; la cour
 " n'eut de plus grand empressement que de coucher par écrit un aveu que la
 " torture, et l'espoir de regagner la liberté avoit arraché à ces victimes innocentes;
 " ils ajouterent leurs signatures à cette declaration pour attester la verité du fait,
 " la cour passa à la conclusion, et les membres voterent generalement pour la
 " mort; l'exécution de la sentence suivit le moment après, et les Hottentots
 " furent fusillés.——Une demi année s'écoule depuis cet événement, et la
 " justice ne s'en est point mêlée jusqu'ici je n'oserois en dire les raisons."

" A Hot-

this is the worst. Not satisfied with defrauding them of the little earnings of their industry, and inflicting the most cruel and

“ A Hottentot captain, of the name of *Kouwinnoub*, bearing the distinguishing
 “ mark of his rank (a stick, on the brass head of which were engraven the arms
 “ of his Majesty), and furnished, moreover, with a passport signed by one of the
 “ members of Government, went, accompanied by fifteen Hottentots, to procure a
 “ few leaves of tobacco in the plains of Sneeuwberg. The boors, recollecting,
 “ perhaps, that three years ago these faithful soldiers had served the Government
 “ by keeping them in order, thought it a favourable opportunity to revenge them-
 “ selves on these unhappy creatures. Led on by a *Veld cornet*, of the name of
 “ *Burgers*, they seized the whole company, who suspected no ill; and, notwith-
 “ standing all the proofs in their favour, it was agreed that they were criminals,
 “ and that they must be treated accordingly. The *Boorish Court of Justice* resolved,
 “ therefore, to bind them to a tree, and to draw from them by torture a con-
 “ fession of crimes, of which a thought had never entered into their heads; to
 “ reiterated blows and inhuman tortures they held out promises of forgiveness,
 “ if they would confess all that was required of them; and by these means they
 “ forced from them the unfortunate declaration that they came with an intention
 “ to plunder the neighbourhood. The only concern of the Court was to write down
 “ a confession, which the application of the torture and the hope of being set at
 “ liberty had wrung from these innocent victims. The boors put their names to
 “ this declaration, as an attestation of the truth, and made an end of the business
 “ by voting for their death. The sentence was instantly put in execution,
 “ and the poor Hottentots were shot. — A whole half year has passed away
 “ since this event, and justice hitherto has not interfered, I should not dare to say
 “ wherefore.”

I shall extract another instance of the savage brutality of an African boor, recorded in this pamphlet, which, if possible, exceeds all that have yet been given.
 “ Des que les Anglois avoient quittés le fort un colon nommée Ferreira, de
 “ famille Portugaise s'en rendit le maître, et en prit possession pour lors, ce qui
 “ dura jusqu'au l'arrivée du detachment que le Gouvernement y a envoyé sous
 “ les ordres du Major Von Gilten, et qui y commande en ce moment. Les
 “ Caffres

and brutal punishments for every trifling fault, they have a constant practice of retaining the wife and children and turning

“ Caffres croiant que la dernière paix avoit finie tout démêlé entre eux envoyèrent
 “ une bête à tuer au nouveau commandant du fort, comme une marque d’amitié
 “ et de reconciliation; le Caffre le fit conduire par un Hottentot et Ferreira par
 “ reconnoissance se faisoit du Caffre, *le brula tout vif*, attacha le pauvre Hottentot
 “ à un arbre, *lui coupa un morceau de la chair de sa cuisse, le lui fit manger tout crue*, et
 “ le relacha ensuite.”

“ As soon as the English had abandoned the fort (at Algoa Bay) a boor named
 “ Ferreira, of a Portuguese family, made himself master of it, and kept possession
 “ till the arrival of a detachment of troops which Government sent thither, under
 “ the command of Major Von Gilten, who is still there. The Kaffers, fully
 “ persuaded that the late peace had put an end to all disturbances between them,
 “ sent to the new commander of the fort a bullock to be slain, as the test of re-
 “ conciliation and friendship. The Kaffer sent on the occasion put himself under
 “ the guide of a Hottentot; and Ferreira, by way of returning the kind inten-
 “ tion, laid hold of the Kaffer and *broiled him alive*; bound the poor Hottentot to
 “ a tree, *cut a piece of flesh out of his thigh, made him eat it raw*, and then released
 “ him!”

If any one should be disposed to think that I have exaggerated the cruelties committed by these inhuman brutes, I only request of them to read the pamphlet written by the private Secretary to the present Governor *Jansens*.

Nothing can be more deplorable than the state of the colony, as described in this pamphlet, which was written just before they had heard of the war; and nothing can exceed the disappointment of the Dutch in their expectations with regard to the Cape. The Hottentot corps was disbanded; most of them fled into the interior to join their oppressed countrymen; the Kaffers were in arms against the boors; the garrison in a state of complete insubordination; the people detesting the Government and the Government afraid of the troops; its credit destroyed, money disappeared, commerce ruined, bankruptcies without end, and they wanted only a war to complete their misery. Under such circumstances, how cheaply might England regain possession of this important settlement!

adrift

adrift the husband; thus dissolving the tender ties of social intercourse, and cutting off even the natural resources of wretchedness and sorrow. It is in vain for the Hottentot to complain. To whom, indeed, should he complain? The Landroft is a mere cypher, and must either enter into all the views of the boors, or lead a most uncomfortable life. The last, who was a very honest man, and anxious to fulfil the duties of his office, was turned out of his district, and afterwards threatened to be put to death by these unprincipled people, because he would not give them his permission to make war upon the Kaffers; and because he heard the complaints of the injured Hottentots. The boor, indeed, is above all law. At the distance of five or six hundred miles from the seat of Government he knows he is not to be compelled to do what is right, nor prohibited from putting in practice what is wrong. To be debarred from visiting the Cape is no punishment to him. His wants, as we have seen, are very few, nor is he nice in his choice of substitutes for those which he cannot conveniently obtain. Perhaps the only indispensable articles are gunpowder and lead. Without these a boor would not live one moment alone, and with these he knows himself more than a match for the native Hottentots and for beasts of prey.

The produce of the grazier is subject to no colonial tax whatsoever. The butcher sends his servants round the country to collect sheep and cattle, and gives the boors notes upon his master, which are paid on their coming to the Cape. They are subject only to a small parochial assessment, proportioned to their

their stock. For every hundred sheep he pays a florin, or sixteen-pence, and for every ox or cow one penny. With the utmost difficulty Government has been able to collect about two-thirds annually of the rent of their loan-farms, which is only 24 rix dollars a year. Under the idea that they had been dreadfully oppressed by the Dutch Government, and that their poverty was the sole cause of their running in arrears with their rent, the British Government forgave the district of Graaf Reynet the sum of 200,000 rix dollars, the amount to which their arrears had accumulated. By descending a little closer to particulars we shall be able to form a better judgment of the condition of these people, and how far their poverty entitled them to the above mentioned indulgence.

The district of Graaf Reynet, as we have already observed, contains about 700 families. Among these are distributed, according to the *Opgaaff* (and they would not give in more than they had, being liable to an assessment according to the number) 118,306 head of cattle, and 780,274 sheep, which, to each family, will be about 170 heads of cattle and 1115 sheep.

Out of this flock each boor can yearly dispose of from 15 to 20 head of cattle, and from 200 to 250 sheep, and, at the same time, keep up an increasing stock. The butcher purchases them on the spot at the rate of 10 to 20 rix dollars a head for the cattle, and from 2 to 2½ for the sheep.

Suppose then each farmer to sell annually,

15 Head of cattle @ 12 Rd.	-	R. D. 180
220 Sheep @ 2 Rd.	-	440
A waggon load of butter and soap 1200 pounds @ 1 s.	-	300
Amount of his income		R. D. 920 0

Outgoings.

2 Waggon 800 Rd. Interest	-	R. D. 48
Clothing for 8 persons @ 15 Rd.	-	120
Tea, sugar, tobacco, brandy	-	150
Powder and shot	-	20
Rent to Government and stamp	-	25
Parochial assessments	-	8
Contingencies, cattle to Hottentots, &c.	-	80
Amount of Outgoings		R. D. 451 0

Yearly Savings R. D. 469 0

or £. 93 16 0

In what part of the world can even a respectable peasant do this? much less the commonest of all mankind, for such are the generality of the Cape boors. After quitting the ranks, or run-

ning away from his ship, he gets into a boor's family and marries. He begins the world with nothing, the usual practice being that of the wife's friends giving him a certain number of cattle and sheep to manage, half the yearly produce of which he is to restore to the owner, as interest for the capital placed in his hands. He has most of the necessaries of life, except clothing, within himself; his work is done by Hottentots, which cost him nothing but meat, tobacco, and skins for their clothing. His house and his furniture, such as they are, he makes himself; and he has no occasion for implements of husbandry. The first luxury he purchases is a waggon, which, indeed, the wandering life he usually leads at setting out in the world, makes as necessary as a hut; and frequently serves all the purposes of one. A musquet and a small quantity of powder and lead will procure him as much game as his whole family can consume. The *spring boks* are so plentiful on the borders of the colony, and so easily got at, that a farmer sends out his Hottentot to kill a couple of these deer with as much certainty as if he sent him among his flock of sheep. In a word, an African peasant of the lowest condition never knows want; and if he does not rise into affluence, the fault must be entirely his own.

REVENUES OF GOVERNMENT.

From what has already been stated, in the last section, it will appear, that the public burthens are not of that nature as to furnish any subject of complaint. In fact, the proportion of produce paid by the colonists for their protection is less than in most

most other countries. They pay no land-tax, no window-tax, no excise, no tax on any of the luxuries of life; no poor-rates, nor any assessment towards the maintenance of the clergy. Except the tenth on grain and wine, brought into Cape Town, and a small Custom-house duty on foreign articles imported, the duties to which they are liable are, in a great measure, optional, being levied on their extreme passion for buying, selling, and transferring property. The stamp duty, the public vendue duty, the transfer duty on sale of immovable estates, and the duty arising from the sales of buildings on loan-lands, are branches of the revenue mostly of this description.

The revenues of the colony are derived from the following sources, comprized under 13 heads:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Land revenue,
consisting in | Rents of Loan farms. |
| | — Gratuity lands. |
| | — Quit rents. |
| | — Places taken by the month. |
| | — Salt pans. |
2. Duties on grain, wine, and spirits, levied at the barrier.
 3. Transfer duty on sale of immovable estates.
 4. Duty arising from the sale of buildings on loan farms.
 5. Public vendue duty.
 6. Fees received in the Secretary's office.
 7. Customs.
 8. Port fees.
 9. Postage of letters.
 10. Seizures, fines, and penalties.

11. Licences to retail wine, beer, and spirituous liquors.
 12. Interest of the capital lent out through the loan bank.
 13. Duty arising from stamped paper.

1. The revenue arising from the soil has been sufficiently explained in describing the tenures of land; but, in addition to the articles therein explained, may be mentioned the rents of some salt water lakes in the Cape district let out to the highest bidder for the purpose of collecting the salt formed in them during the summer season; as also some trifling rents of places for grazing cattle at certain seasons of the year, taken by the month.

2. The duties levied on grain, wine, and brandy at the barrier are as follows:

	Rd.	sh.	ft.	s.	d.
For 10 muids of wheat	2	6	4	or 11	4
— 10 muids of barley	1	2	4	5	4
— 10 muids of peas	4	0	0	16	0
— 10 muids of beans	5	0	0	20	0

On wine and brandy the duty is exactly the same, being 3 rix dollars for every legger, let the price or quality be what they may. This duty amounts to about 5 per cent. on common wine, and not to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on Constantia.

3. The transfer duty on the sale of immovable estates is 4 per cent. on the purchase money, which must be paid to the receiver of the land revenues before a legal deed of conveyance can be passed,

passed, or, at least, before a sufficient title can be given to the estate.

4. The duty arising from the sale of buildings, plantations, and other conveniences on loan-lands, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the purchase money, and must be paid in the same manner as the last, on the property being transferred from the seller to the purchaser.

5. The duty on public vendues is 5 per cent. on moveable, and 2 per cent. on immoveable property; of the former, Government receives $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. of the latter. This is a very important branch of revenue.

6. Fees received in the Secretary's office are such as are paid on registering the transfer of property, and were formerly part of the emoluments of the colonial Secretary and assistants. They are very trifling.

7. The import and export duties at the Cape were formerly a perquisite of the Fiscal. At the surrender of the colony it was found expedient to make some new regulations with regard to this branch of revenue. All goods shipped in the British dominions, to the westward of the Cape, were allowed to be imported duty free; but others, not so shipped, were liable to a duty of 5 per cent. if brought in British bottoms, and 10 per cent. in foreign bottoms. And no goods nor merchandize of the growth, produce, or manufacture of countries to the eastward of the Cape were allowed to be imported into, or exported

ported from, the Cape of Good Hope, except as sea-stores, but by the East India Company, or by their licence.

The export duties vary according to the nature of the articles, but, on a general average, they amount to about 5 per cent. on commodities, the growth and produce of the Cape.

8. The port fees, or wharfage and harbour money, were formerly levied at a fixed sum on all ships dropping anchor at the Cape, whether they were large or small, but were afterwards altered to sixpence per ton upon their registered tonnage.

9. The postage of letters was a small charge made on the delivery of letters at the post office, more with a view to prevent improper correspondence during the war, than to raise a revenue, which, indeed, amounted to a mere trifle.

10. Seizures, fines, and penalties. The law respecting smuggling is very rigid at the Cape of Good Hope. Not only the actual shipping or landing of contraband goods is punishable, but the *attempt* to do it, if proved, is equally liable; and the penalty is confiscation of the goods, when found, together with a mulct amounting to three times their value; or, if not found, on sufficient evidence being produced, the delinquent is liable to forfeit four times their value. The case I alluded to in the second chapter, where the Court of Justice was severely censured, was an *attempt* to smuggle money out of the colony; and the penalty was levied upon the sum that it appeared, on evidence, the captain of the ship had, at one time, brought
clan-

clandestinely on board for that purpose; as it was presumed that the intention was to convey it out of, though he afterwards disposed of it in, the colony. The sentence of the court was reversed in the Court of Appeals, and the money ordered to be restored; but the captain, not satisfied with the decision of the Court of Appeals, without recovering, at the same time, large damages, intends to bring his action before a British Court in England.

Of all seizures and confiscations, and penalties for misdemeanors, the Fiscal receives one-third of the amount, the informer or prosecutor one-third, and the other third, which was formerly the share of the Governor, was directed by Lord Macartney to be always paid into the Government Treasury in aid of the revenue.

11. The licences granted for the retailing of wine, beer, and spirituous liquors, are farmed out in lots to the highest bidders; and they produce a very considerable sum to Government, proportioned, however, to the strength of the garrison, the soldiers being their best customers. Sir James Craig, wishing to discourage, as much as possible, all monopolies, proposed to divide the retailing of wine among 32 persons, but fifteen only were found to take them out; and these the following year refusing to renew, it became necessary to recur to the old method, to prevent the revenue from suffering, as well as the disorders that might be supposed to arise from an unrestrained liberty of sale. It was, however, found difficult to get any one after this to undertake the farm on the most moderate terms. Such is often the effect

effect of making sudden and violent changes, even where abuses are meant to be reformed, and a certain benefit procured for those who have long been suffering under them. Gradual alterations are usually the most acceptable, and, in the end, most effectual.

12. Interest of the capital lent out through the loan or Lombard bank arises from a sum of paper money issued by the Dutch Government as a loan to individuals, on mortgage of their lands and houses, with the additional security of two sufficient bondsmen. The sum thus lent out is about 660,000 rix dollars. The interest is 5 per cent., which is one per cent. less than the legal interest of the colony. Government receives a clear profit of 4 per cent., and the bank one per cent. for its trouble. The rule is never to lend a greater sum than half the value upon estates in town, nor more than two-thirds on estates in the country. The term for which the loan was made was not to exceed two years, and it rested with the directors to prolong the loan, or to call it in, at the expiration of that time.

The establishment of this bank, by the Dutch East India Company, was one of the many symptoms, that of late years had appeared, of the declining condition of their commercial credit, and of their political influence in their Indian possessions. Driven to the necessity of raising revenues, by direct or indirect means, to defray the contingent expences of the year and to keep together their numerous establishments, and of maintaining their existence by temporary expedients, their finances were reduced at length to such a state, that their capital was employed to pay

the interest of their debt. In order, therefore, to reform some abuses, and for the better regulation of their affairs in India, certain commissioners were appointed in 1792, under the name of Commissaries General, to proceed from Holland, without delay, upon this important office.

Finding, on their arrival at the Cape, that the resources of Government were nearly exhausted, the colony in most deplorable circumstances, and a general complaint among the inhabitants of the want of a circulating medium, they conceived it too favourable an occasion to let slip of converting the public distress into a temporary profit for the state; increasing, at the same time, the revenue of the latter, while they conferred a seeming favour on the former. They issued, through the Lombard bank, a loan of such sums of stamped paper money as might be required to satisfy the wants of those who could give the necessary securities; the whole amount being limited to the sum of one million rix dollars.

Thus, by this transaction, Government created for itself a net revenue of about 25,000 rix dollars a year, free of all deductions, without risk and without trouble, from a fictitious capital. It did more than this. Part of the original capital, which, at its highest point was about 680,000 rix dollars, was repaid by the inhabitants, and restored to Government; but, instead of cancelling such sums, as it should seem in honour bound to do, it applied them towards the payment of the public expences, suffering the whole of the original capital to continue in circulation.

The operation of such a loan, from the Government to the subject, so much the reverse of what generally takes place in other states, might be supposed to produce on the minds of the people a disposition of ill-will towards the Government; which, indeed, was assigned as one of the motives to shake off their dependence, and thus free themselves at once from a load of debt by the destruction of the creditor. These short-sighted people did not reflect that the whole amount of paper money issued through the bank was not half the amount of paper currency in circulation; that a much greater sum, of the same fabric, but made on a different occasion, had been borrowed by Government from the inhabitants, for which the only security was its credit and stability. The consequence of Suffrein's visit to the Cape, and the expences of throwing up the lines, and putting the works in repair, obliged the Dutch to borrow plate and silver money from the inhabitants for the exigencies of Government, which was promised to be repaid on the arrival of the ships then expected from Holland; and, in the mean time, stamped paper, in pieces bearing different values, was given and thrown into circulation, none of which has ever been redeemed by specie, nor, in all human probability, ever will. The balance of the paper lent by Government, and of the money borrowed from the people, is about 240,000 rix dollars in favour of the latter, so that they would gain little by destroying the credit of Government.

13. The duty arising from stamped paper was early introduced, but limited to such public writings as were issued from the offices of the Secretary of Government and of the Court of Justice;

Justice; and for acts signed by public notaries, until the arrival of the Commissaries General, when it was considerably extended. At present all bills of sale, receipts, petitions, and memorials, must be made out on stamped paper. The limits of the stamps are sixpence the lowest, and one hundred rix dollars or twenty pounds the highest.

The net proceeds of the colonial revenue for four successive years will appear from the following table:

Branches of the Public Revenue.	Year 1798.			Year 1799.			Year 1800.			Year 1801.		
	Rd.	sh.	ft.	Rd.	sh.	ft.	Rd.	sh.	ft.	Rd.	sh.	ft.
1. Land Revenue	60,622	6	2	40,720	6	4	43,396	2	4	47,885	6	4
2. Duties on grain and wine levied at the barrier	36,867	6	0	35,164	2	4	31,930	1	3	37,759	3	0
3. Transfer duty on sales of immovable estates	33,211	4	2	66,843	3	3	45,576	1	3	67,483	7	0
4. Duty arising from Sale of buildings on loan estates	5,441	5	4	5,677	1	3	5,939	1	3	5,247	5	1
5. Public vendue duty	48,182	3	3	59,916	1	2	61,166	3	0	85,960	2	4
6. Fees received in the Secretary's Office	1,654	0	0	1,365	6	0	1,193	3	0	1,312	7	0
7. Customs	43,331	4	0	42,828	5	0	38,582	4	0	47,833	1	0
8. Port fees	2,186	2	0	2,100	0	0	3,945	4	0	5,498	0	0
9. Postage of letters	641	5	0	950	0	0	1,111	7	0	1,396	6	0
10. Seizures, fines, and Penalties	10,182	0	1	7,585	0	3	26,572	0	0	5,533	3	0
11. Licences to retail wine, beer, and spirituous liquors	36,255	0	4	51,133	2	4	65,191	5	2	93,200	0	0
12. Interest of the capital lent out through the loan bank	25,532	6	1	25,678	4	1	26,240	2	3	25,957	0	1
13. Duty arising from stamped paper	18,403	4	0	20,348	6	0	18,751	0	0	25,645	1	0
Amount	R. D. 322,512	7	5	360,312	0	0	369,596	4	0	450,713	2	4
or £.	64,502	11	11	72,062	8	0	73,919	6	0	90,142	13	4

These sums were applied to the payment of salaries on the civil establishment, the expences of the several departments, the repairs of Government buildings, and the contingencies and extraordinaries of the colony, to all which, by a prudent economy, they were much more than adequate; for, on closing the public accounts the year after the departure of Lord Macartney from his government, there was a balance in the Treasury, amounting to between two and three hundred thousand six dollars, after every expence of the year had been liquidated.

JURISPRUDENCE.

The outline of the constitution and practice of the Court of Justice at the Cape I have already had occasion to notice, and to observe that its members were chosen out of the burghers of the town, and were not professional men brought up in the study of the law. The Fiscal, who is the public accuser in criminal matters, and the Secretary of the Court, are the only persons possessed of legal knowledge. The jurisdiction of this Court extended to the trial of offences committed by the military; in all such cases, however, the Governor, as Commander in Chief, had the power of nominating two military officers, to sit on the trial and give their votes, with the ordinary members, upon the case. The members of the Court may be considered as a kind of special jury, who, having heard the evidence adduced by the parties, decide upon the facts, and the Secretary points out the law. Their decision, however, is carried by a majority of voices.

Two of the members in turns form a monthly commission, before which written evidence is produced by the attornies of the parties, and every information collected against the full meeting of the Court, which is held once a fortnight. The doors are always shut; there is no oral pleading; and the parties are entirely excluded. Decision is pronounced upon the written and attested documents that appear before them, and which, indeed, have been read by each member in the interval between the days of session. Were this not practised, so great is the litigious disposition of the people, they would not be able to go through the ordinary business. Forty or fifty causes are sometimes dispatched in the Court in the course of one morning; and they hear none where the damages are not laid at a greater sum than 200 rix dollars or 40*l*. All suits, under this amount, are decided in an inferior Court called the *Court of Commissaries for trying petty causes*: in the country districts the Landroft and Hemraaden are empowered to give judgment in all cases where the damages to be recovered do not exceed 150 rix dollars or 30*l*.

This litigious spirit in the people, who are mostly related one way or another, and who always address each other by the name of *cousin*, is encouraged by the attornies, who, in the Cape, may truly be called a nest of vermin fattening on the credulity of the people. To become a *procureur* it is by no means necessary to study the law. Hence any bankrupt shopkeeper, or reduced officer, or clerk in any of the departments, may set up for an attorney. The business consists in taking down depositions in writing, and drawing up a state of the case for the

nation of the monthly commissioners, and afterwards to be laid before the full Court. As their charges, in some degree, depend upon the quantity of paper written, such papers are generally pretty voluminous. The expences of a single suit will sometimes amount to 400*l.* or 500*l.* sterling, when, at the same time, the object of litigation was not worth 100*l.*

The office of Fiscal is one of the most important in the colony. As public accuser it is his duty to prosecute, in the Court of Justice, all high crimes and misdemeanors; and as Solicitor-General to the Crown he is to act in all cases where the interest of Government is concerned. As Chief Magistrate of the police, both within and without the town, he is authorized to inflict corporal punishment on slaves, Hottentots, and others, not being burghers, for petty offences, riotous behaviour, or other acts that cannot be considered as directly criminal. The Fiscal has also the power of imposing fines, and of accepting pecuniary composition for misdemeanors, insults, breach of contract in cases where the offender does not wish to risk a public trial. The sum, however, that in cases of compromise can be demanded by the Fiscal, was limited, under the British Government, to 200 rix dollars. For it appeared that, under former Fiscals, many and enormous abuses had been practised in the levying of fines, particularly in cases where the nature of the offence was such that the accused chose rather to pay a large sum of money than suffer his cause to be investigated before a full court. The Fiscal, being entitled to one-third of all such penalties, took care to lay them as heavy as he thought the cases would bear. What a temptation was here laid for frail mortal
man,

man, in his fiscal capacity, to be guilty of injustice and extortion, by leaving the power of fixing the penalty in the breast of the very man who was to reap the benefit of it! To the honour of the man be it spoken, who held this important but odious situation, during the government of Britain at the Cape, his most inveterate enemies, and he and every one who fills the office must daily make such, never accused him either of making an undue use of his authority, or of studying his own interest in this respect. The English found him and left him poor, but not without some, though not adequate, acknowledgment of his services.

The office of Fiscal consisted of the principal and a deputy, a clerk, two bailiffs, two jailors, eight constables, and nineteen blacks and Malays, usually called Kaffers. The whole expence to Government was under 10,000 rix dollars; the Court of Justice and Secretary's Office to the Court was about the same sum, so that the administration of justice cost the Government about 4000 l. sterling a year.

The Court of Commissaries for trying petty suits, and for matrimonial affairs, consists of a President, a Vice-president, and four members, whose situations are merely honorary, and are biennial. The duties of the Court, as the name implies, are divided into two distinct classes: first, to decide in suits where the sum in litigation does not exceed 40 l.; and secondly, to grant licences of marriage where, on examination of the parties, there appears to be no legal impediment.

In

In its first capacity it may be considered as a sort of Court of Conscience. The proneness of the people to litigation made it necessary, notwithstanding the scanty population, to establish this as a relief to the Superior Court, by taking off its hands the decision of a multiplicity of trifling suits, as well as, by a summary mode of proceeding, to prevent heavy costs. The process for the recovery of a debt is very simple. A summons is sent from the Secretary to the debtor, forty-eight hours before the meeting of the Court, which is every Saturday. The parties are heard, a decision taken, and sentence pronounced. An appeal lies to the Superior Court.

In order to obtain a licence for marriage, it is necessary for both persons to appear personally before the Court, to answer to such questions as may be put to them concerning their age, the consent of parents or guardians, their relationship, and such like; after which a certificate is given, and the banns are published thrice in the church. The consent of parents or guardians is necessary to be had by all who marry under the age of twenty-five years. If the consent of parents or guardians be refused to a minor, the removal of the objections is left to the discretion of the Court. If either of the parties has been married before, and has children, a certificate must be produced from the Secretary of the Orphan Chamber, or from the notary appointed to administer to the affairs of the children, that the laws of the colony relating to inheritance have been duly complied with.

The

The *Weeskammer*, or chamber for managing the effects of minors and orphans, is one of the original institutions of the colony, and is modelled on those establishments of a similar kind that are found in every city and town of the Mother Country. The nature of their laws of inheritance pointed out the expediency of public guardians to protect and manage the property of those who, during their minority, should be left in an orphan state. In this instance the Dutch have departed from the civil or Roman law on which their system of jurisprudence is chiefly grounded. By their laws of property the estates and moveables of two persons entering into wedlock become a joint stock, of which each party has an equal participation; and, on the death of either, the children are entitled to that half of the joint property which belonged to the deceased, unless it may have been otherwise disposed of by will; and here the legislature has wisely interfered to allow of such disposal only under certain restrictions and limitations. The Dutch laws, regarding property, are more inclinable to the interests of the children, than favourable to the extension of parental authority. To enable a man to disinherit a child, he must bring proof of his having committed one, at least, of the crimes of children against parents, which are enumerated in the Justinian code.

To guard against abuses in the management of the provision which the law has made for minors and orphans, and to secure the property to which they are entitled, are the duties of the Orphan Chamber. Its authority extends also to the administration of the effects, either of natives or strangers, who may die intestate. At the decease of either parent, where there are

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children, an account of the joint property is taken by the Chamber, and in the event of the survivor intending to marry a second time, such survivor must pass a bond to secure the half share of the deceased to the children by the former marriage.

This excellent institution is managed by a president and four members, a secretary, and several clerks. Their emoluments arise from a per centage of $2\frac{1}{2}$ on the amount of all property that comes under their administration, and from sums of money accruing from the interest of unclaimed property, and the compound interest arising from the unexpended incomes of orphans during their minority. The Secretary, in addition to a fixed salary, has an allowance of 4 per cent. on the sale of orphan property, which almost always takes place in order to make a just distribution among the children. This is considered as an indemnification for his responsibility to the board for the payment of the property sold. The clerks divide among them one per cent., so that all orphan property, passing through the Chamber, suffers a reduction of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the capital, which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less than when left to the administration of private executors, who have 5 per cent. for their trouble, and must pay 5 per cent. on the public vendue, from which the Orphan Chamber is exempt.

RELIGION.

Calvanism, or the Reformed Church as it has usually been called, is the established religion of the colony. Other sects were

were tolerated, but they were neither countenanced, nor paid, nor preferred by the Dutch. The Germans, who are equally numerous with the Dutch, and mostly Lutherans, had great difficulty in obtaining permission to build a church, in which, however, they at length succeeded; but they were neither suffered to erect a steeple nor to hang a bell. A Methodist chapel has also lately been built; and the Moravians have a church in the country; but the Malay Mahomedans, being refused a church, perform their public service in the stone quarries at the head of the town. Other sects have not yet found themselves sufficiently numerous or opulent to form a community.

The body of the clergy are in no part of the world more suitably provided for, or more generally respected, than in this country; a consequence of their being supported entirely by Government, and not by any tax or tythe laid upon the public. Their situation, it is true, leads not to affluence, but it places them beyond the apprehension of want or pecuniary embarrassments; and it secures to their widows a subsistence for life. The salaries and the emoluments, which all of them enjoy, both in the town and the country districts, are nearly on an equality. By their rank, which is next to that of the President of the Court of Justice in town, and of the Landroft in the country, they are entitled to seek connections with the first and wealthiest families in the colony. None would think of refusing his daughter's hand to the solicitations of a clergyman; and the lady usually considered the precedence at church as a full compensation for the loss of balls, cards, and other amusements

which her new situation obliged her to relinquish. Some changes, however, of such sentiments were said to have taken place, on the part of the ladies, with the change of their former Government, and that whatever might still be the opinion of the parents, they began to doubt whether the easy and unrestrained gaiety of a red coat might not be equally productive of happiness with the gravity of a black one.

But the introduction of new manners and new sentiments produced no direktion in the pious deportment of the clergy and their families; nor was there any change in the exterior marks of devotion among the laity. The former are scrupulously exact in the observance of the several duties of their office, and the latter equally so in their attendance of public worship. In the country the boors carry their devotion to an excess of inconvenience that looks very like hypocrisy. From some parts of the colony it requires a journey of a week or ten days to go to the nearest church, yet the whole family seldom fails in their attendance twice or thrice in a year.

The duties of the clergy are not very laborious, though pretty much the same as in Europe. They attend church twice on Sundays, visit the sick when sent for, and bestow one morning in the week to examine young persons in the confession of faith. They must also compose their sermon for Sunday, and learn it by heart. Their congregation would have little respect for their talents if it was read to them, though of their own composing. Nothing will do in a Dutch church but an ex-
temporary

temporary rant; and they all go to church in expectation of some glance being made at the prevailing topic of the day, and return satisfied or displeased according as the preacher has coincided with or opposed their sentiments on the subject of his discourse.

The clergy have also the direction of the funds raised for the relief of the poor. These funds are established from weekly donations, made by all such as attend divine service, from legacies, and from the sums demanded by the church on the emancipation of slaves. The interest is applied towards the succour and support of those whom old age, infirmities, accident, or the common misfortunes of life, may have rendered incapable of assisting themselves. This class is not very numerous in the Cape, and is composed mostly of such as have been denied, in their early days, the means of making any provision against old age; chiefly emancipated slaves, whose best part of their life has been dedicated entirely to the service of their owners.

An unsuccessful attempt was made some years ago to establish a public grammar-school at the Cape, and the clergymen were nominated as *curators*. A fund for this purpose was intended to be raised by subscription, and every one was ready to put down his name, but very few came forwards with the money. After the purchase of a suitable house, they found there was nothing left to afford even a moderate salary for a Latin master; and the clergy of the Cape, who are the only fit persons to take upon them the important task of instructing youth, are already

too

too well provided for by Government to engage in so laborious an employ.

The amount of the funds belonging to the Reformed Church in Cape Town, in the year 1798, was, Rd. 110,842 1 2 or 22,168 *l.* 8 *s.* 8 *d.*, and the subsistence granted to the poor was Rd. 5564 2 or 1112 *l.* 17 *s.* The funds of the Lutheran Church were Rd. 74,148 2 2 or 14,829 *l.* 13 *s.* 2 *d.*, and the relief granted to the poor Rd. 972 2 2 or 194 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.*

IMPROVEMENTS SUGGESTED.

Before any considerable degree of improvement can be expected in those parts of the country, not very distant from the Cape, it will be necessary, by some means or other, to increase the quantity and to reduce the present enormous price of labour. The most effectual way, perhaps, of doing this, would be the introduction of Chinese. Were about ten thousand of this industrious race of men distributed over the Cape district, and those divisions of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein which lie on the Cape side of the mountains, the face of the country would exhibit a very different appearance in the course of a few years; the markets would be better and more reasonably supplied, and an abundance of surplus produce acquired for exportation. It is not here meant that these Chinese should be placed under the farmers; a situation in which they might probably become, like the poor Hottentots, rather a load and an encumbrance on the

the colony, than a benefit to it. The poorest peasant in China, if a free man, acquires notions of property. After paying a certain proportion of his produce to the State, which is limited and defined, the rest is entirely his own; and though the Emperor is considered as the sole proprietary of the soil, the land is never taken from him so long as he continues to pay his proportion of produce to Government.

I should propose then, that all the pieces of ground intervening between the large farms and other waste lands should be granted to the Chinese on payment of a moderate rent after the first seven years. The British Government would find no difficulty in prevailing upon that, or a greater, number of these people to leave China; nor is the Government of that country so very strict or solicitous in preventing its subjects from leaving their native land as is usually supposed. The maxims of the State forbid it at a time when it was more politic to prevent emigrations than now, when an abundant population, occasionally above the level of the means of subsistence, subjects thousands to perish at home for want of the necessities of life. Emigrations take place every year to Manilla, Batavia, Prince of Wales' Island, and to other parts of the eastern world.

In the distant parts of the colony, where there is waste land in the greatest abundance, it would be adviseable to hold out the same encouragement to the Hottentots as they have met with from the Hernhüters at Bavian's Kloof, a measure that

I

would

would be equally beneficial to the boor and the Hottentot, and prevent the many horrid murders that disgrace humanity.

The next step to improvement would be to oblige all the Dutch landholders to enclose their estates, agreeably to the original plans which are deposited in the Secretary's Office. By planting hedge rows and trees, the grounds would not only be better sheltered, but the additional quantity of moisture that would be attracted from the air, would prevent the surface from being so much scorched in the summer months. The almond, as I have observed, grows rapidly in the driest and poorest soils, and so does the pomgranate, both of which would serve for hedges. The lemon-tree, planted thick, makes a profitable as well as an extremely beautiful and excellent hedge, but it requires to be planted on ground that is rather moist. The *keurboom* or *sophora capensis* grows in hard dry soils, as will also two or three of the larger kind of proteas.

The vineyards, instead of being pruned down to the ground, so that the bunches of grapes frequently rest upon it, should be led up props or espaliers, or trailed, as in Madeira, along the surface of lattice work. The strong Spanish reed that grows abundantly in the colony is well suited for this purpose, which would not only free the grapes from the peculiar earthy taste that is always communicated to the wine, but would cause the same extent of vineyard to produce more than double the quantity of grapes. A family or two from the island of Madeira, to instruct them in the process of making wine, would be of essential use to the colony.

A better

A better system of tillage of the corn lands could not fail to be productive of a considerable increase in the returns of grain. The breed of horses has so much improved since the capture by the English, that these may soon be substituted for oxen in all the purposes of husbandry, and small English ploughs made to supersede their present unwieldy machines.

With respect to the country boors, it will require a long time before any effectual steps can be adopted for the improvement of their condition. One of the most eligible plans, perhaps, would be the establishment of fairs or markets at Algoa Bay, Plettenberg's Bay, Mossel Bay, and Saldanha Bay; to which, at certain fixed periods, once a month or quarter for instance, they might drive down their cattle, and bring their other articles of produce for sale.

This might immediately be effected by prohibiting the butchers from sending round their servants to collect cattle at the boors' houses; and by giving public notice of the times at which the markets would be held at the different places. At Algoa Bay a great variety of produce, besides sheep and horned cattle, might be exhibited together, not only from the boors, but also from the Kaffers and the Hottentots. These people would, no doubt, be very glad to give their ivory and skins of leopards and antelopes in exchange for iron, beads, and tobacco, and perhaps coarse cloths, provided they were allowed to take the advantage of a fair and open market. The honey that abounds in all the forests would be collected by the Hottentots and

brought to the market at Plettenberg's Bay, where the great plenty of timber might also lead to a very extensive commerce and furnish employment for numbers of this race of natives, who require only proper encouragement to become valuable members of society. An establishment of Moravian missionaries at this bay would prove of infinite benefit to the colony. It would be difficult to persuade the boor of this, and nothing would convince him of the truth of it, but the circumstance of his being able to procure as good a waggon for 150 or 200 rix dollars as he must now purchase at the rate of 400 dollars in Cape Town.

It would be no small advantage to the boors, who dwell some hundred miles from the sea-coast, to carry back in their waggons a quantity of salted fish, which might be prepared to any extent at all the bays; this article would not only furnish them with an agreeable variety to their present unremitting consumption of flesh meat three times a day, but would serve also, according to their own ideas, as a corrective to the superabundance of bile which the exclusive use of butchers' meat is supposed to engender. To cultivate the fisheries on the coast of Africa would afford the means of employment and an ample source of provision for a great number of Hottentot families.

At Mossel Bay, besides the fisheries, there are two articles, the natural produce of the country, in the collection and preparation of which the Hottentots might very advantageously be employed, both to themselves and to the community. These are

are aloes and barilla, the plant that produces the first growing in every part of the district that surrounds the bay, and that from the ashes of which the other is procured being equally abundant in the plain through which the Olifant River flows at no great distance from the bay. Here too the cultivation of grain and pulse might be greatly extended.

If the introduction of Chinese were effected, the markets of Cape Town and Saldanha Bay could not fail to be most abundantly supplied with wine, grain, pulse, fruit, and vegetables; probably to such a degree as not to be excelled in the world, either for price, quality, or quantity.

The consequence of such a system of establishing markets would be the immediate erection of villages at these places. To each village might be allowed a church, with a clergyman, who might act at the same time as village schoolmaster. The farmers' children put out to board would contribute to the speedy enlargement of the villages. The farmers would thus be excited to a sort of emulation, by seeing the produce of each other compared together, and prices offered for them proportionate to their quality, instead of their being delivered to the butcher, as they now are, good and bad together, at so much per head. The good effects produced by occasionally meeting in society would speedily be felt. The languor, the listlessness, and the heavy and vacant stare that characterize the African peasant, would gradually wear off. The meeting together of the young people would promote the dance, the song, and gambols on

the village green, now totally unknown; and cheerfulness and conversation would succeed to the present stupid lounging about the house, sullen silence, and torpid apathy. The acquaintance with new objects would beget new ideas, rousing the dormant powers of the mind to energy, and of the body to action. By degrees, as he became more civilized by social intercourse, humanity as well as his interest would teach him to give encouragement to the Hottentots in his employ to engage in useful labour, and to feel, like himself, the benefits arising from honest industry.

The establishment of villages in an extensive country thinly peopled may be considered as the first step to a higher state of civilization. A town or a village, like the heart in the animal frame, collects, receives, and disperses the most valuable products of the country of which it is the centre, giving life and energy and activity by the constant circulation which it promotes. Whereas while men continue to be thinly scattered over a country, although they may have within their reach all the necessaries of life in a superfluity, they will have very few of its comforts or even of its most ordinary conveniences. Without a mutual intercourse and assistance among men, life would be a constant succession of make-shifts and substitutions.

The good effects resulting from such measures are not to be expected as the work of a day, but they are such as might, in time, be brought about. It would not, however, be attended with much difficulty to bring the people closer together, and to

furnish them with the means of suitable education for their children. To open them new markets for their produce, and, by frequent intercourse with one another, to make them feel the comforts and the conveniences of social life. Whether the Dutch will be able to succeed in doing this, or whether they will give themselves the trouble of making the experiment, is doubtful, but should it once again become a British settlement, these or similar regulations would be well deserving the attention of Government.

But, above all, the establishment of a proper public school in the capital, with masters from Europe qualified to undertake the different departments of literature, demands the first attention of the Government, whether it be Dutch or English. For as long as the fountain-head is suffered to remain troubled and muddy, the attempt would be vain to purify the streams that issue from it. It is painful to see so great a number of promising young men as are to be found in Cape Town, entirely ruined for want of a suitable education. The mind of a boy of fourteen cannot be supposed to remain in a state of inactivity, and if not employed in laying up a stock of useful knowledge, the chances are it will imbibe a taste for all the vices with which it is surrounded, and of which the catalogue in this colony is by no means deficient.

CONCLU-

CONCLUSION.

Having now taken a view of the importance and value of Cape of Good Hope, as a military and naval station, as a seat of commerce, as a central depôt for the Southern Whale Fishery, and as a territorial possession, I shall only add, by way of conclusion, that under the present implacable disposition of France towards this country, and the insatiable ambition of its Government, Great Britain never can relinquish the possession of this colony, for any length of time, without seriously endangering the safety of her Indian trade and the existence of her empire in the East; both of which were effectually secured, at least from external attack, by the occupation of this important outwork.

The facility it affords, at all times, of throwing into India a speedy reinforcement of well seasoned troops, which never can be supplied effectually from England how much so ever they may be required, must always stamp an indelible value on the Cape. How desirable would it be, at the present momentous crisis, to have the usual garrison there of 5000 effective men, to reinforce our small but active army in India, instead of sending troops from England, of whom, judging from past experience, two-thirds of those who may survive the voyage, will be totally unfit, on their arrival there, for any kind of service. It is to be hoped then, that the Directors of the East India Company are at length become sensible of their error with regard to this important colony

lony and, having seen it, that such measures have been suggested and solicited by them as may again put us in possession of that advance post, by which *their political and commercial interests in the East Indies will be secured and promoted*, and without which those interests will constantly be exposed to dangers that may not only threaten but finally terminate in a total subversion:—*Et vitam impendere vero.*

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THE END.

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